Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-91-201
Thursday
17 October 1991

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-91-201

CONTENTS

17 October 1991

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

ALBANIA

Crowds Clash With Police in City of Vlore *[Tirana Radio]* 1
Tirana Youth Hold 'Rally Against Totalitarianism' *[Tirana Radio]* 1
Reportage on Association of Political Prisoners 2
Presidium Member Dismissed *[BASHKIMI 6 Oct]* 2
Prisoners Refuse 'Charity' *[BASHKIMI 6 Oct]* 2
Nexhmije Hoxha Reflects on Hoxha Era *[FJALA No. 38]* 2

BULGARIA

Declaration on European Security Issued *[BTA]* 6
Zhelev Receives Future NATO Trainees *[BTA]* 6
Vulkov Meets UNESCO Director General in Paris *[BTA]* 6
Diplomatic Relations With Bahrain Established *[BTA]* 6
Podkrepa Announces Warning Strike in Ruse *[Sofia Radio]* 6
Final Election Results, Seat Distribution *[BTA]* 7
Interim Parliamentary Seat Allocations Announced *[Sofia Radio]* 7
Strengths of Parties in New Legislature Estimated *[BTA]* 7
Political Parties React to Election Results *[BTA]* 8
Poll Shows 'Only 2%' for SDS-DPS Coalition *[BTA]* 8
Lukanov: BSP Will Not Form Coalition With DPS *[Sofia Radio]* 9
BSP Disputes Validity of Election Software *[DUMA 12 Oct]* 9
Abililty of Election Computing Team Questioned *[DUMA 8 Oct]* 9
SDS's Dzherov Wants 'New Laws To Change System' *[NOVINI 4 Oct]* 10
BZNS-United Protests Election Law Violations *[ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME 7 Oct]* 11

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Havel Meets Officers on Army Role, Screening Law *[Prague TV]* 12
Slovak Confederative Arrangement Plans Revealed
[CESKE A MORAVSKOSLEZSKE ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY 14 Oct] 12
Disagreements Within Slovak Coalition Viewed *[NARODNA OBRODA 11 Oct]* 13
Klepac Explains Republic Positions on Constitution *[NARODNA OBRODA 11 Oct]* 14
Impact of Tank Export Suspension Examined *[NARODNA OBRODA 16 Oct]* 15

HUNGARY

Air Force Views Burden of 'Civil War' at Border *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 10 Oct]* 16
'De Facto' Recognition of Slovenia, Croatia Viewed *[NEPSZAVA 12 Oct]* 16
Hungary's Perspective on CSCE Meeting on Yugoslavia *[NEPSZABADSAG 12 Oct]* 17
National Assembly Debates Romanian Magyars Issue *[MTI]* 17
Pollution at Soviet Military Sites Measured *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 11 Oct]* 18
Jeszenszky Examines Regional Economic Cooperation *[NEPSZABADSAG 11 Oct]* 19
Kupa Comments on IMF Meeting, Budget Deficit *[NEPSZABADSAG 15 Oct]* 19
1991 Economic Statistics Show 47% Exports to EC *[MTI]* 20

POLAND

Abridged Polish-Belorussian Cooperation Declaration *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 11 Oct]* 21
J. Kaczynski Interviewed on Legislative Elections *[EXPRESS WIECZORNY 11-13 Oct]* 21
Tyminski Discusses Party X Philosophy, Plans *[SZTANDAR MLODYCH 10 Oct]* 23
State Enterprise Debt Restructuring Plan Unveiled *[PAP]* 25

ROMANIA

Stolojan Presents Government Program to Parliament *[Bucharest Radio]* 26
Views Elections, Energy Supplies *[Bucharest Radio]* 29
Senate Endorses Rejected Ministers, Cabinet *[Bucharest Radio]* 29
Biographies of New Cabinet Members Reported *[ROMPRES]* 29
Nastase on Foreign Policy, Next Foreign Minister *[CURIERUL NATIONAL 11 Oct]* 33
Senate Asks for UDMR Position on Szeklers Issue *[ROMPRES]* 35
Deputies Adopt Statement *[ROMPRES]* 36
UDMR Issues Statement *[ROMPRES]* 36
Daily Views Reactions *[MAGYAR NEMZET 15 Oct]* 37
UDMR Leaders View Controversial Arad Meeting *[NEPSZABADSAG 9 Oct]* 37
UDMR Sees 'Political Monoculture' in Government *[UJ MAGYARORSZAG 11 Oct]* 39

YUGOSLAVIA

International

Sar Krajina Region Sets Stance for Hague Talks *[TANJUG]* 40
Babic To Represent 'Unified Krajina' at Hague *[Belgrade Radio]* 40
Further on Krajina Delegation *[TANJUG]* 40
Presidency Examines Coming Hague Conference *[TANJUG]* 41
'New Proposal' Slated for 18 Oct Hague Meeting *[TANJUG]* 41
Constitutional Court Annuls Independence Acts *[TANJUG]* 42
Kostic Claims EC Ignoring Presidency *[Belgrade Radio]* 42
Croatian Government Sends Letter To Gorbachev *[TANJUG]* 42
Tudjman Invites Shevardnadze To Visit Croatia *[TANJUG]* 43
Tudjman Says YPA Linked With USSR Coup Plotters *[TANJUG]* 43
Defense Ministry Refutes Allegation *[TANJUG]* 43
EC Envoys, Markovic Meet, Urge Preservation of SFRY *[TANJUG]* 43
Vance Meets Bosnian Leaders in Sarajevo *[Sarajevo Radio]* 44
EC Observers Group Arrives in Dubrovnik *[TANJUG]* 44
Romania Denies Supplying Army With Arms, Equipment *[TANJUG]* 44
Traffickers Planned to Buy Arms for Croatia *[TANJUG]* 44

Federal

FEC Calls Independence Proclamations Unconstitutional *[TANJUG]* 44
Bank Prevents Slovenian, Croatian Foreign Deposits *[TANJUG]* 45
Kostic Chairs Belgrade Presidency Session *[TANJUG]* 45
Media Skeptic Over Possible Cease-Fire *[TANJUG]* 45

Slovenia

Official Explains Position at Hague Economic Talks *[Ljubljana Radio]* 46
Rupel Explains Rome Talks With De Michelis *[Ljubljana Radio]* 46
Pucnik Comments on 14 Oct Demos Session *[Ljubljana Radio]* 47
Army, Slovene Representatives Resume Talks *[TANJUG]* 47
18 Oct Army Withdrawal From Slovenia Still Uncertain *[Ljubljana Radio]* 48

Croatia

Branko Salaj Interviewed on Serbs in Croatia *[TANJUG]* 48
Slavonia Serbs Refuse To Be Part of Croatia *[Belgrade Radio]* 48
Administration of Railroad Lines Assumed *[TANJUG]* 49
Assembly Issues Ultimatum to Army, Alleges Genocide *[Zagreb Radio]* 49
'Chetnik' Attacks on Perusic, Lika Reported *[Zagreb Radio]* 50
Navy Stops Ferry Near Dubrovnik, Removes All Men *[Zagreb Radio]* 50
Army Denies Ordering Ilok Residents To Move *[TANJUG]* 50
Belgrade Radio Cites Disarray in Croatian Guard 50
Zagreb Radio: Vukovar Ablaze in 'Heaviest' Attacks 51

Zagreb Radio Cites Two-Month Casualty Figures 51
Croatian Forces Shoot Down Airplane Near Osijek *[Zagreb Radio]* 51

Serbia

Economic Measures Taken Against Slovenia *[Belgrade Radio]* 51
Government To Control Foreign Exchange *[TANJUG]* 52
200 Serbian Reservists Return From 'Battlefields' *[TANJUG]* 52
Assembly Proposes Postponement of Local Elections *[TANJUG]* 52
Albanian Newspaper Editors Jailed in Pristina *[TANJUG]* 52
Police 'Blockade' Kosovo Commune of Malisevo *[Zagreb Radio]* 53
Ethnic Albanian Students Hold Peaceful Protests *[TANJUG]* 53
Police Disperse Students *[Zagreb Radio]* 53

Bosnia-Hercegovina

SAR Hercegovina Rejects Bosnian Resolution *[Sa:ajevo Radio]* 53
SAR Romanija Rejects Bosnian Platform *[Sarajevo Radio]* 53
Bosnian Serbs Favor Yugoslavia, Reject Bosnian Laws *[Sarajevo Radio]* 53
Serbian Autonomous Region to Remain in SFRY *[TANJUG]* 54
Serbian Party Claims 'State Coup' *[TANJUG]* 54
Muslim, Serb Party Leaders Call For Referendum *[TANJUG]* 54
Croat Party Approves of Sovereignty Memorandum *[Sarajevo Radio]* 55
Susak Demands Release of Croatia's Army Conscripts *[Zagreb Radio]* 55
Izetbegovic Discusses Memorandum at News Conference *[Sarajevo Radio]* 55

Macedonia

Gligorov Receives Message From Mitterrand *[Skopje Radio]* 56
Foreign Minister Notes Similar Views With EC *[Skopje Radio]* 56
Macedonian Delegation Assesses Hague Talks *[Skopje Radio]* 56
Assembly Rejects 'Illegal' Presidency Decisions *[TANJUG]* 56
Greece Considers Recognition of Independent Macedonia *[TANJUG]* 57

Crowds Clash With Police in City of Vlore

AU1610151891 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Statement by the Ministry of Public Order issued in Tirana on 16 October]

[Text] As the public has been informed on the radio and television, the situation in the city of Vlore deteriorated seriously on the afternoon of 15 October. At about 1700, a kind of temporary calm was established. However, as vehicles were carrying soldiers to help the military unit guarding the port, the crowds began to throw stones and bricks. One of the soldiers on the trucks fired a gun, wounding [name indistinct], from Bishan in Fier District. The crowds then began to throw stones at the forces of order.

Although the assembled people were called upon to keep calm and to disperse, they did not stop but, rather, intensified their behavior, breaking street lamps and windowpanes. Trees were burned and shops were looted. At the same time, two officers and 14 policemen were wounded in various ways. The situation in the city was stabilized at midnight.

The police escorted more than 200 persons to the branch of the Ministry of Public Order. Of these, 25 were arrested, including three for theft; 107 were fined; and others were given warnings.

The crowds had mainly come from the Districts of Fier, Lushnje, and Berat. The inhabitants of the city of Vlore not only dissociated themselves from this illegal and destabilizing behavior but also were highly indignant and demanded that the forces of order act more firmly. Some citizens came to the help of the forces of order and protected damaged property.

The situation in the city has been quieter today, but there have been small gatherings near the port. The situation is relatively quiet in Durres. The forces of order in the two cities are strongly committed to confronting any situation.

Tirana Youth Hold 'Rally Against Totalitarianism'

AU1610162791 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Report by Sokol Perihati]

[Text] The Albanian Youth Federation, the Tirana Youth Directorate [Drejtoria e Rinise se Tiranes], and the Democratic Party's Youth Forum organized a rally against totalitarianism today in Democracy Square on the student campus.

Thousands of students, secondary school pupils, teachers, and Tirana citizens have been taking part in this rally, which started at 1000. A slogan reading Long live the Republic of Albania and the national flag without a star are behind the rostrum, while an inverted portrait of Enver Hoxha was placed in front of the dais and was burned by the rally's participants at 1030.

The student Arben Nika was the first to speak. After pointing out the merits of students and young people in bringing pluralism to Albania and describing the road traversed since last December, he stressed that this victory has not been achieved without bloodshed and that one of the martyrs of democracy was the student Arben Broci, who was killed on 2 April. Arben Nika proposed that one minute's silence be observed in his honor. Mr. Ahmet (?Kogjini), a victim of political persecution, then took the floor and pointed out the merits of young people as the heralds of genuine democracy and freedom. For their aspirations, an entire generation was sacrificed, tortured, imprisoned, and persecuted by the totalitarian regime.

Arben Broci's brother Driton then greeted the rally and stressed in his speech that genuine democrats do not call for revenge and do not ask for the replacement of one class war by another. They want the law to be rigorously enforced.

Blendi Gonxhe then said that there have been people who have speculated in various newspapers about the student movement of December and the students' hunger strike. We will not allow this, he said. The history of the student movement will be written by the students themselves, who lived through these times, and nobody can use them for the purposes of political speculation or party interests. He then proposed that this rally should issue demands for Enver Hoxha's tomb to be removed from the Martyrs' Cemetery and for an improvement in students' poor living conditions. He proposed that priority should be given to the student campus for the next two years. Blendi Gonxhe also said that it is improper to accuse the former leaders solely of financial and material corruption. They should first of all be accused of genocide against certain strata of the population, a crime that exists on our statute books.

Ridvan Peshkepia, chairman of the Democratic Party's Youth Forum, then took the floor and pointed out the reasons for organizing this rally. He stressed in his speech that students and high-school youth will always be united in defense of democracy.

Arben Imami and Azem Hajdari were then invited to greet the rally as representatives of the teachers and the students. In their speeches, they recalled the events of December and stressed their determination to establish genuine democracy and freedom in Albania. We have no more idols today, he said. Democratic principles will be our only idols.

The rally was then greeted by Edi Ramo, teacher at the Higher Institute of Arts; Professor Sali Berisha of the Democratic Party; (?Dick Bigman), director of the Republican Institute of the United States; Osman Kazazi of the Association of Former Political Prisoners; (?Vehip) Bushati of the Republican Party; and others. There were intervals of light music between the speeches.

This event will continue during the afternoon and late into the evening.

Reportage on Association of Political Prisoners

Presidium Member Dismissed

AU1610131491 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 6 Oct 91 p 1

[Announcement by the Association of Former Political Prisoners; place and date not given]

[Text] The Initiating Commission of the Association of Former Political Prisoners discharges Mr. Gjergj Titani from all his duties on the Presidium of this association because of his serious violations of the association's program and statute, attempts to sabotage the hunger strike, and careerist tendencies.

Ahmet Nivica, Initiating Commission of the Association of Former Political Prisoners. Fifteen signatures follow.

Prisoners Refuse 'Charity'

AU1610142591 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 6 Oct 91 p 1

[Statement by the Association of Former Political Prisoners; place and date not given]

[Text] The Association of Former Political Prisoners, aware of the statement issued by Mr. Azem Hajdari and 11 Democratic Party deputies for the start of a campaign to create a national fund in aid of former political prisoners, considers this statement to be unacceptable because compensation for former political prisoners cannot be given in the form of charity from a people that are already in a state of destitution and who live on the charity of other countries.

We ask the Albanian Government to find other ways of securing the necessary funds for our compensation.

Nexhmije Hoxha Reflects on Hoxha Era

AU1610084291 Pristina FJALA in Albanian No. 38, Oct 91 pp 8-9

[Interview with Nexhmije Hoxha, widow of Albanian leader Enver Hoxha, by Milaim Zeka; place and date not given: "Enver Died on 20 February, Not on 11 April"]

[Text] [Zeka] Can you tell us in a few words where you were born and something about your education?

[Hoxha] I was born in Diber [Debar] in 1927. My family also lived in Manastir [Bitola]. Three of my father's brothers emigrated to Turkey. I had five brothers. My father came to Tirana as a warehouseman. He, too, finished grammar school in Manastir.

When I finished primary school, there was a lot of discussion about me at home, about whether I should continue my education! I was the first girl from Diber to go on to train as a teacher at the high school in Tirana.

[Zeka] What subject did you like best in school?

[Hoxha] I always liked literature. Haki Stermilli was a very close friend of mine. One of the letters I sent to Haki was even included in his novel, *If I Were a Boy*

[Zeka] As far as I am aware, you became acquainted with Qemal Stafa in 1936. How did you come to meet him, and did this at the same time mean contact with the communist movement?

[Hoxha] It is true that I met Qemal in 1936. I met him through a friend of mine called Kolumbia. Qemal talked to me about what work we should do at the institute, where girls from all parts of Albania came. Later, Qemal took me into the communist group in Shkoder.

[Zeka] When did you first get to know Enver?

[Hoxha] On 23 November 1942 [year as published], when the Albanian Communist Youth Movement was founded. Ymer Pula was also at this meeting and was elected a Central Committee member together with me.

We Trusted the Yugoslavs Far Too Much

[Zeka] If you will permit me, I would like to talk about what happened after the war. How did it happen that the entire state apparatus was handed over to the leadership of Yugoslavs?

[Hoxha] We were a new and inexperienced party. We trusted Tito and the Yugoslavs far too much. However, they betrayed us.

[Zeka] How could you possibly declare Tito, Rankovic, Mugosa, Djilas, and others to be heroes, in the very year 1946, at a time when Shaban Polluzha and other Kosovars were sacrificing themselves to defend Kosovo from the real genocide being perpetrated against it?

[Hoxha] As I said, we had great faith in them...!

[Zeka] Enver said that mistakes can be forgiven but persistent mistakes cannot. What do you think, were there not persistent mistakes over the national cause?

[Hoxha] Mistakes were made, but such were the circumstances in those years. The great powers decided our fate in every respect.

[Zeka] Did you break with Tito because of his treachery to the "genius" Stalin, his treachery to Marxism-Leninism, or his treachery to Kosovo?

[Hoxha] All three....

[Zeka] Why then did you trust Stalin so much? Why did you praise to the skies an enemy of Albania, when it was known what he had said about Albania, that it should be "swallowed up." [reported in Milovan Djilas's *Conversations With Stalin*

[Hoxha] We knew what Stalin had said about Albania, but we did not trust Djilas. However, as long as Stalin was alive, he maintained a proper attitude toward our country. Stalin supplied us with grain. Stalin protected us from the Yugoslav danger. Stalin sent us military advisers, university teachers, and so forth.

The Security Service in Soviet Hands

[Zeka] As far as I know, you left even the Security Service in the hands of Soviet advisers.

[Hoxha] Yes, that is true. As far as Stalin is concerned, I wish to say that he was a highly complex figure. However, Stalin was the protector of a little newborn child.

[Zeka] Do you have a bad conscience about having fanatically defended a vile criminal such as Stalin, when facts have proved the terror to which he subjected the Soviet people?

[Hoxha] I have read everything written about Stalin. I have read Roosevelt, Churchill, and even Gromyko. Why should I not believe them?! We defended him because we did not believe Khrushchev. Stalin rescued Albania with bread, free weapons....

[Zeka] It was said that the party always judged wisely, gently, and fairly. If this was the case, why did you not learn from all these disasters? Why did you not form ties to the West after the break with the Soviets in 1960?

[Hoxha] At the first congress held after the break with the Russians, I put forward various theories about the need for ties to the West. I say that we made a mistake in tying ourselves to the East again. Specifically, it was a mistake to tie ourselves to China. At that time, our analysis was wrong. However, the matter must once again be analyzed within the context of historical processes.

Do not forget that many things happened in that decade. Czechoslovakia was invaded, and Europe did not lift a finger, even though that country is well known for being pro-Western. We were very worried, although we are a small country. We immediately left the Warsaw Pact, but Europe said nothing about that. We banished the Soviet fleet from Vlore, but nobody praised us for it. Not even Italy said anything, even though the fleet was taken away from under its nose.

We Had Nothing in Common With China

[Zeka] Why did you establish ties to China?

[Hoxha] We tied ourselves to China because China was the only country to help us. To tell the truth, we never had the spiritual ties to that country that we had to the Soviet Union. We were spiritually tied to the Soviets, but I now say thank God that the Soviet Army never came to Albania because who knows what might have happened. The connection with China was simply one of self-interest in order to create certain conditions to defend ourselves.

[Zeka] Then business with the Chinese did not proceed as smoothly as it should have done. You broke with them and then completely isolated Albania. Why?

[Hoxha] We did not isolate Albania. The West did. The West was frightened that we would become a base for the Soviets again, but we chose the path of neutrality. This should have pleased the West, but it did not turn out that way. Anyway, the neutrality card has now been used up.

[Zeka] Has the neutrality card been used up, or rather the food reserves, in the sense that the people can no longer live on ideological phrases?

[Hoxha] That, too, is true. Enver left us plenty of reserves, but they were all used up. Nobody knows what happened to them?!

[Zeka] But was it not suicide for Albania to introduce into the Constitution the law forbidding foreign credit, when it was known that Albania, of all places, cannot support itself on its own resources?

[Hoxha] We made a mistake there. Somehow everything began to go downhill after Enver died. Instead of building a new economic policy, everything that had been gained began to fall apart.

[Zeka] But who put the law forbidding foreign credit into the Constitution?

[Hoxha] Enver did.

[Zeka] What, in your view, were your regime's main mistakes, although the word "mistake" has not been heard for 45 years in Albania? Perhaps it is a new word for you.

[Hoxha] It must be realized that the entire East suffered from a certain system. Our main mistake was to excessively centralize the entire economic system. Everything grew worse after the break with China. Both the class war and the economy were led by a centralized group of people. However, I repeat that Enver's successors are to blame because they did not correct the policy on credit. Personally, I do not think Europe would have helped Albania with credit even if we had asked for it. What sort of credit would they have given us at the time when Czechoslovakia was being invaded?!

Enver's Friends Betrayed Him

[Zeka] Mrs. Hoxha, your husband was the leader of a state and a party in which thousands of people were shot, imprisoned, interned, convicted, and banished from Albania. Please tell us how it is possible for such a small country to have had so many victims.

[Hoxha] Perhaps you do not believe me, but Enver was betrayed and deceived by his closest friends. Even Enver's closest friends were arrested, such as Syrja Selfo and Enver Zezani, a patriotic doctor, about whom Enver said, "Nexhmije, I can never believe that they can have betrayed me." However, Koci Xoxe brought reports

from the investigator, testimony after testimony. "Have you tortured them?" Enver asked. "No, Comrade Enver," Xoxe replied. Thus, the State Security Service deceived Comrade Enver. The same thing happened in the case of Malo Frasheri and many others.

[Zeka] Was not Enver also deceived in the case of Mehmet Shehu?

[Hoxha] Reports came from foreign embassies abroad that he was in the service of foreigners, but we did not believe them.

[Zeka] And when you did believe them, you liquidated him?

[Hoxha] According to the report we received, he committed suicide....

Some reports claim that Mehmet was killed by Kadri Hazbiu, who later shot Llambi Zeqishti. Zeqishti had asked how it was possible for someone to commit suicide by firing two bullets into his own head.

[Hoxha] That, too, may be true. Kadri was against bringing Mehmet's wife to trial, on the grounds that she would lead us down a blind alley.

[Zeka] Was Ismail Kadare also faced with a danger of this kind, of being liquidated or arrested?

[Hoxha] Kadare was not on the verge of being arrested. Even if he had been, Enver would never, ever have allowed his arrest. Even when Enver was alive, the French press called Kadare a dissident. However, Kadare was our house guest. I have dozens of letters from Kadare, and we gave him all the Chinese radio communications to help him write his novel *The Great Winter*, and so forth. After his election as deputy chairman of the Democratic Front, he often came to our house, and we exchanged different views. It is true that Kadare had a lot of criticism of the press, art, literature, and so forth. He was particularly disgusted at the State Security Service. He has said almost everything in his published works. He wrote things that they wanted to burn, but Enver did not allow that.

[Zeka] What do you think of Kadare's call to join NATO?

[Hoxha] Kadare is a very great writer of rare talent, a patriot, and a very progressive and modern person, but I would say that he and Qosja do not have the right to say that they are not politicians because their speeches, statements, and writings have a political coloring and influence people. I do not say that Kadare is not a politician but rather that he makes mistakes in politics. I also say that he should not have fled Albania.

[Zeka] In Western countries, you have always been accused of being the main obstacle to all the democratic processes in Albania. You, most of all, have opposed Ramiz Alia. Is that true?

Killing One More Person for Enver

[Hoxha] That is not true. I was even one of the initiators of those processes. For instance, I was the first to separate other organizations from the party. For instance, Hekuran Isai's suggestion that people should receive passports and flee the country with them seemed to me ridiculous at a time when we knew that we did not have free movement within the country.

[Zeka] How did you feel on the day Enver Hoxha's monument was pulled down?

[Hoxha] For me, he died on 20 February, not 11 April. [Hoxha died on 11 April 1985; his monument in Tirana was toppled on 20 February 1991.] On the morning of that day, I was at a Central Committee meeting that was discussing the students' strike. It was Ramiz who had called me to that meeting. The meeting ended, and I went home. I was very tired. I think I was having something to eat when they told me that I had to return urgently to the Central Committee because a special plenum was to be held. I went into the meeting. The situation was extremely tense. The Tirana District party secretary reported that a great crowd of people had gone to the students. The women were asking for Comrade Ramiz. Someone went in his place. All this happened at about 1400. I have the impression that everyone at the plenum knew that the monument would be attacked that day, but no one told me anything.

One of the members of the plenum stood up and said that it would be a humane gesture if Comrade Nexhmije were to issue a statement asking for the removal of Enver Hoxha's name from Tirana University. However, I was not the one who had given Enver's name to the university. Moreover, on the previous evening, every one had been categorically against removing the name. As we were talking, an officer entered with a letter that he handed to Comrade Ramiz. Comrade Ramiz took it, read it, and threw it onto the table. He then told us that the monument had been pulled down.

Only a few minutes later, another officer entered with another letter, reporting that Enver was being dragged through the streets of Tirana. Oh, God, how shocked I was. I began to cry like a child. I left the plenum, and officers in the corridors embraced me and consoled me. I was stung to the heart because I had failed to say that this plenum had been a disgrace and nothing else. I went home and said that this day had been more fatal than the day when Enver died. Nobody came to console me. Not a single party secretary. After 24 hours, Ramiz and Adil [Carcani] came. I even gave them a piece of my mind.

[Zeka] Was it true that the news spread that the entire presidential compound would be set on fire?

[Hoxha] Yes, that is true. Kavaje had spread the news that the compound would be set on fire. I was worried about the children. Where would I shelter them? On the next day, they really did attack the house. The guard protected me. I distributed the children among people.

My brother-in-law and I took refuge somewhere else. No one came to help me. Never mind Enver, who was made out of bronze. What about us, who were alive?

[Zeka] Quite a long time has now passed since the monument was pulled down. Do you now regret that the demonstrators were not fired upon?

[Hoxha] I am not in any way in favor of the use of guns, but it was all a plot prepared by the state organs and people within the Interior Ministry. The monument's screws had been loosened the night before. The truck belonged to the Interior Ministry. I think that at least one person should have been killed that day for Enver.

[Zeka] But why? Do you think that few people were killed for Enver while he was alive?

[Hoxha] At least the truck's tires should have been slashed to prevent Enver's being dragged through the streets of Tirana. However, I repeat, this was a plot, period.

[Zeka] After the monument was brought down, crowds of people rose up to put it in its place again. Were you in favor of that?

[Hoxha] I was indeed faced with a personal responsibility. That responsibility was extremely grave. People were very disgusted with Ramiz. He was my closest friend. After Mehmet's fall, it was Ramiz who came to Enver, made reports, and received instructions.

After two days, the situation was extremely dramatic. Crowds of people had joined demonstrations and had set off for Tirana. However, I could feel no joy in my heart that Enver was now being defended. There were a lot of petitions and even proposals for a vote on Enver. I went to Ramiz's office, and said: Tell me what I should do. What stand should I take? Enver is dead and cannot be defended with bloodshed. Then, with Ramiz, I began to meet the greatest hotheads in Albania, who came to Tirana.

[Zeka] There is general political and economic confusion in Albania. Could it be said that Ramiz is to blame for this, in not being brave enough to carry out rapid reforms?

[Hoxha] Ramiz Alia had not acquired Enver Hoxha's authority. He was stuck between two forces. One said, "Move," and the other said, "Stop, where are you going?" Ramiz had no friends who could help him. The young comrades who came to advise him left him in the lurch. However, it must be realized that Ramiz tried hard in all those processes. I, too, have always supported him. It is flatterers who have done most harm to our country. When Enver died, they proposed me as a Central Committee secretary, but I refused and said that I would be 70 by the time of the 10th Congress. At that time, I suggested that young comrades should be brought into the leadership. I say that the old cadres in the party leadership and Ramiz Alia's wavering have brought confusion to Albania.

I Do Not Look to the Future With Optimism

[Zeka] The Albanian Workers Party has now changed its name to the Socialist Party. Were you in favor of this change, and what connection do you have with the Socialist Party?

[Hoxha] I have no connection with the Socialist Party. ZERI I POPULLIT is writing a thousand terrible things about me and my family. I am sorry for Fatos (Nano), who is being compromised. He is a clever boy, and everybody liked him. That Spiro (Dede) is a person of no character. I am very annoyed with him because he was a close friend of mine. I trusted him a lot and gave him Enver's entire archive to read. He is going to betray Fatos because people like that can do anything. It was only last New Year—in other words, after the students' demonstrations—that he sent me a postcard swearing a thousand times over that he would not leave the road of Enver and the party. There you are, read the postcard for yourself. I had chosen Spiro (Dede) to write Enver's biography, and he was very enthusiastic, but I don't know what got into him.

[Zeka] You seem extremely upset. Or could we say that you are under great pressure?

[Hoxha] That is the truth. It is not easy when your 50 years of struggle and effort for this country and this people go for nothing. I was the one who went from house to house, persuading the peasants to send their daughters to school. Tirana University had more girls than boys.

[Zeka] Are you optimistic that Albania will become a genuinely democratic country?

[Hoxha] I do not look to the future with optimism. Many elements that are trying to overthrow democracy have entered into this democratic process. Various people have joined it, dressed in carnival costumes, but it is a carnival that damages democracy. This loss of dignity pains me. Albanians were once united by their word and the flag. I am particularly frightened by the situation of the peasantry. It is now obvious that our peasants have lost respect even for their crops. People say let the Italians or anybody come, only get us over this situation.

[Zeka] It is said that you had 28 television sets in your home.

[Hoxha] That is not true.... Perhaps we have had so many in the time since the liberation, if you count those that broke down and all those given by our friends abroad.

[Zeka] Are you prepared, at least psychologically, to appear before the courts?

[Hoxha] I have thought of this, but what can I do? The same scenario as in Bulgaria, Romania, and so forth is being prepared here, but that would be a disgrace.

Declaration on European Security Issued

AU1710083691 Sofia BTA in English 2314 GMT 17 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 16 (BTA)—Bulgaria welcomes the joint statement made by Mr. Baker and Mr. Genscher as an important step in complete harmony with the Paris summit of November 1990, it is pointed out in a declaration released by the Bulgarian Foreign Ministry today.

Bulgaria attaches great importance to complete openness and predictability in the military sphere within the framework of fixed ceiling quantitative levels for the basic types of armaments, it is said in the declaration. An important priority for Bulgaria is the creating of a possibility for the Bulgarian national security problems to be presented at an early stage of the decision-making process. In the proposed North Atlantic Council for Cooperation Bulgaria sees a prospect for the institutionalization of such a possibility.

The declaration points out that the coordination, planning and the taking of joint steps for preventing and solving international critical situations, the joint actions in cases of natural calamities and the solving of environmental problems are other important areas of cooperation. Bulgaria will be ready, if invited, to take an active part in consultations with NATO, the Western European Union and other European organizations on all aspects of future cooperation.

Zhelev Receives Future NATO Trainees

AU1610152591 Sofia BTA in English 1503 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 16 (BTA)—Today President Zhelyu Zhelev received Bulgarian officers who will be trained at NATO's military academies in Rome, Italy and Oberammergau, Germany. They are the first Bulgarian officers to attend NATO academies.

President Zhelev wished them success and pointed out that this is the beginning of closer cooperation between the Bulgarian Army and NATO. He hopes that the officers will obtain knowledge and experience that will be useful for the Bulgarian Army. He said that the training of Bulgarian officers at NATO centres shows the new attitude of this organization to the countries of Eastern Europe, including the USSR, and its commitment to the security of these countries as part of the united Europe guarantees. The president expressed the hope that the Bulgarian Army will become a stabilizing factor not only inside the country, but also in the Balkans. That is of paramount importance, as Bulgaria's experience in the peaceful transition from totalitarianism to democracy and market economy is strongly commended by the advanced democracies in Europe and the world, he said.

Vulkov Meets UNESCO Director General in Paris

AU1710084391 Sofia BTA in English 0758 GMT 17 Oct 91

[Text] Paris, October 17 (BTA)—Late last night Foreign Minister Viktor Vulkov, who heads the Bulgarian delegation to the 26th session of the UNESCO General Conference, met Mr. Federico Mayor Zaragoza, UNESCO director general. They discussed the implementation of the memorandum on cooperation between Bulgaria and UNESCO, signed during Mr. Zaragoza's visit to Sofia in July, 1991, as well as the prospects of the further development of this cooperation in the new conditions.

Mr. Federico Mayor Zaragoza stressed Bulgaria's worthy contribution to the activities of the organization seeking a new political image in the changing world. Mr. Vulkov informed Mr. Zaragoza of the latest events in this country. He expressed Bulgaria's desire for still more active participation in the work of UNESCO.

Diplomatic Relations With Bahrain Established

AU1610145091 Sofia BTA in English 1439 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 16 (BTA)—The Republic of Bulgaria and the State of Bahrain established diplomatic relations at the ambassador level, effective from the signing of the declaration on October 15.

Podkrepa Announces Warning Strike in Ruse

AU1610181591 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] Last night, massive gas emanations affected Ruse again and persisted throughout this afternoon. Out-of-turn air samples were taken, but the results have not yet been announced.

In connection with the persistent gassing of Ruse, at 1345 today, the Ruse Territorial Union of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation called through the local radio network on its members and supporters to prepare for a one-hour ecological warning strike, our correspondent (?Vasil) Stefanov announced.

Mrs. Mira Radkova, chairman of the Podkrepa Territorial Union, announced that workers and employees from the following Ruse enterprises were on strike between 1500 and 1600: the local Metal-Processing Plant, the Dental Technical Laboratory of the Dental Polyclinic, and the Ruse dockworkers.

The workers of the Investment Machine Building Plant, of the Instrument Plant, and of the Hydrotechnical Enterprise have joined the strike, members of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria included.

News on strikes in other Ruse enterprises continue to arrive at the local Podkrepa headquarters.

Final Election Results, Seat Distribution

AU1710120891 Sofia BTA in English 1148 GMT 17 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 17 (BTA)—After processing 100 percent of the data it received the Central Electoral Commission announced that the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] polled 34.36 percent of the vote. The Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) polled 33.14 percent and the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) 7.54 percent. According to these results the SDS will have 110 seats in the future parliament, the BSP 106 and the DPS 24.

After processing the tally sheets the Central Electoral Commission will announce the official results.

According to the parallel counts conducted by teams of the SDS and of the Podkrepa Labour Confederation the difference between the SDS and the BSP is 4 percent. There is data that many tally sheets from the so-called "red regions" had not been drawn up as prescribed by the law, "DEMOKRATSIYA" writes today.

Interim Parliamentary Seat Allocations Announced

AU1610195491 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Excerpt] The Central Electoral Commission has announced figures for the parliamentary elections obtained after processing 99.17 percent of the faxed reports received from the polling stations.

The following results were obtained after computing all the figures:

Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]—34.38 percent
Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP]—33.11 percent
Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS]—7.56 percent
Bulgarian National Agrarian Union-United—3.86 percent

Today Dimitur Topliyski, member of the Central Electoral Commission, presented the following allocation of parliamentary seats by okrugs, according to the still provisional results based on processing 97.57 percent of the protocols sent in by the polling stations. I will read them because I am sure they will interest our listeners:

Okrug	SDS	BSP	DPS
Blagoevgrad	6 seats	3 seats	1 seat
Burgas	5 seats	5 seats	2 seats
Varna	7 seats	5 seats	1 seat
Veliko Turnovo	4 seats	5 seats	
Vidin	1 seat	3 seats	
Vratsa	3 seats	5 seats	
Gabrovo	3 seats	1 seat	
Dobrich	2 seats	4 seats	1 seat
Kurdzhali	no seats	2 seats	6 seats
Kyustendil	3 seats	2 seats	
Lovech	3 seats	2 seats	
Mikhaylovgrad	3 seats	3 seats	
Pazardzhik	4 seats	5 seats	
Pernik	3 seats	2 seats	
Pleven	4 seats	5 seats	
Plovdiv City	7 seats	3 seats	
Plovdiv	5 seats	5 seats	1 seat
Razgrad	No seats	2 seats	3 seats
Ruse	4 seats	3 seats	1 seat
Silistra	1 seat	2 seat	2 seats
Sliven	1 seat	3 seats	
Smolyan	3 seats	no seats	2 seats
Sofia City District No. 23	8 seats	[figure indistinct]	
Sofia City District No. 24	8 seats	3 seats	
Sofia City District No. 25	7 seats	3 seats	
Sofia	4 seats	4 seats	
Stara Zagora	5 seats	6 seats	
Turgovishte	No seats	2 seats	2 seats
Khaskovo	3 seats	5 seats	1 seat
Shumen	1 seat	4 seats	2 seats
Yambol	1 seat	3 seats	

[passage omitted]

Strengths of Parties in New Legislature Estimated

AU1610204091 Sofia BTA in English 2007 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 16 (BTA)—The expected distribution of seats in the future parliament is as follows: 111 seats for the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF), 106 for the election alliance of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) and 23 seats for the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (MRF). The future ordinary National Assembly will have 240 members.

The BSP commanded a majority in the Grand National Assembly (comprising 400 MP's [members of parliament])—it had 211 seats. The UDF was the second strongest force—144 seats. The MRF had 23 seats.

The fourth major force in the previous parliament—the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) will not be represented in the future National Assembly as it failed to cope with the required minimum of 4 percent. The BZNS parliamentary faction in the Grand National Assembly held 16

seats. Its membership expanded when the BZNS and part of the Nikola Petkov Agrarians united to form the BZNS United.

Unlike last year when some independent candidates were returned, none of this year's independent candidates polled the necessary number of votes.

Political Parties React to Election Results

AU1610213091 Sofia BTA in English 2035 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 16 (BTA)—The Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) has won the October 13 parliamentary elections with a 1.5 per cent lead over the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party]. This is also confirmed by the update of results which the Central Electoral Commission has been regularly announcing today in the national radio newscasts. The final results of the first vote count are expected to become known today. The results have also confirmed the projections that there will be only three political forces in the future parliament: the UDF, the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) and the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (MRF). Data on the elections in the different constituencies were also announced.

A BTA correspondent reported today of a curious fact concerning the elections in a village in Dobrudzha. Its inhabitants boycotted the elections because their demand for the village to become a municipal centre was rejected. Thus the village has actually been left without local authorities and it is as yet unclear how this case will be solved.

Leaders of the UDF Liberals (a political formation which failed to clear the 4 per cent barrier) said that they see two alternatives for their future development: They will either become a liberal party or enter a coalition with the centre-oriented forces.

Mr. Vladimir Spasov, first secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], called on all left-wing forces today to form a "left-wing national front against the advancing neo-fascism and the restoration of capitalism." The leader of the BCP (one of the three communist parties in this country) called the October 13 elections "unfair, rigged and demagogic," and described the BSP as a "party of feudal fascism."

The UDF has not discussed any new candidates for the future cabinet, journalists were told at a news conference today.

The Socialists intend to be a constructive opposition in parliament, one of the BSP leaders said at a news conference today. Under no circumstances would the BSP enter a coalition with the MRF, and the first task of the Fatherland Party of Labour (which ran in the elections in coalition with the BSP) will be to provoke a parliamentary investigation into the "unconstitutional activities of the MRF," it became known at the news conference.

After yesterday's smog in the city of Ruse, this morning it was once again gassed by the Giurgiu Chemical Combined Works. The gassing took place within hours before the arrival of Romanian experts of the joint Bulgarian-Romanian environmental commission. Yesterday morning the chlorine ion concentration in the riverside areas of the city was close or a little above the admissible limits. The highest chlorine ion concentration was measured at noon: 6.5-fold above the maximum admissible concentration. Today the chlorine ion concentration in the atmosphere of Ruse was a little over the maximum admissible limits. This morning the nitrogen dioxide concentration was also 2.5-fold above the maximum admissible concentration. The regional inspectorate does not have the necessary equipment to be able to intercept all air pollutants.

Bulgarian and Romanian experts met in Ruse today in implementation of the latest intergovernmental agreements for normalizing the environmental situation in the region. They discussed the membership of the joint Bulgarian-Romanian expert team which is to prepare within a week a list of the toxic—specific and nonspecific—pollutants (organic compounds) in Ruse and Giurgiu. They will use highly sensitive monitoring and measuring equipment on the territory of both cities.

The incidence of gastroenteric diseases has increased since the beginning of this year in the city of Pleven (northern Bulgaria). A rise in the incidence of these diseases has also been registered in other parts of the country. According to experts this is due to the poor sanitary conditions in some population centres, to irregular water supply, to the considerable rise in the prices of soap and detergents and to the shortage of medicines.

The Teachers' Trade Union with the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions is satisfied with the rise in the teachers' salaries. This was the first case of real wage bargaining, Mr. Ivan Yordanov, leader of the teachers' trade union, told journalists today. According to him the labour of teachers was so far unjustly underestimated and inadequately paid.

The hearings of the "Chernobyl" trial will be resumed on October 30 with the interrogation of experts. Three new witnesses have been summoned.

Poll Shows 'Only 2%' for SDS-DPS Coalition

AU1710083991 Sofia BTA in English 2354 GMT 17 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 16 (BTA)—Between 23 and 27 percent of the respondents to an express opinion poll conducted in Sofia and Varna after the elections are for an independent government of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS).

Between 37 and 42 percent of the respondents are for a government coalition between the SDS and one of the

smaller parties and only 2 percent are for a coalition between the SDS and the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS).

More than half of the respondents expressed the opinion that the elections took place normally as in any other European state. One third expressed the opinion that the elections were normal for the Bulgarian conditions and 3 percent are dissatisfied with the way election day passed.

Between 30 and 34 percent of the respondents believe that the election results correspond to the correlation of the political forces. More than one third of the respondents believe that they do not correspond completely and criticize the Electoral Law which disregards the votes of many electors by imposing a 4 percent barrier.

The Bulgarians expect things to change for the better after the elections: This was the answer of 70-77 percent of the respondents.

Lukanov: BSP Will Not Form Coalition With DPS

AU1610185591 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] At the news conference of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] held today, figures were announced on the party's latest forecasts of the results of the parliamentary and local elections. According to the information available to the BSP, the forecasted final figures for the parliamentary elections will be: Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], 34.91 percent; BSP, 33.02 percent; and Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS], 7.41 percent.

The party has the names of the new mayors of 1,755 towns and villages, 1,398 of whom were successful in the first round of the local elections. Of the new mayors, 748 represent the BSP, 139 the SDS, 267 the DPS, 37 the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union-United, and 55 the Nikola Petkov BZNS.

In the view of Mr. Andrey Lukanov, a new government can be formed by the political force that enters into a coalition with the DPS; the coalition is a public or secret one. It was stated at the news conference that the BSP will certainly not take such a step because it believes that the DPS is an anticonstitutional formation.

BSP Disputes Validity of Election Software

AU1710120191 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 12 Oct 91 p 2

[Report by Mitko Bozhkov: "The Software for the Elections Is a U.S. Product and Has Not Been Legalized in Our Country"]

[Text] The Central Electoral Commission has not exercised a reliable control on copying the software product [to be used in computerized counting of votes in the elections]. The product was purchased from the United States and has not been legalized by the relevant Bulgarian authorities. Crucial problems related to the technology of computerized vote counting were resolved by the Central Electoral Commission using the method of blind confidence. This was declared at an 11 October briefing by the Central Electoral Commission at the International Press Center in the National Palace of Culture.

On this occasion, the Civic Initiative for Free and Democratic Elections published a memorandum that was distributed at the end of the news conference at the National Palace of Culture. The document once more insists that a second counting of votes be performed along with the assessment of the Central Electoral Commission. The commission should not announce any results whatsoever before the results of the two counts have been compared and thoroughly checked, even by a parallel hand count, so that the reliability of the results does not evoke any doubts.

After hearing the memorandum, Ms. Minkova from the Central Electoral Commission first of all reprimanded the Bulgarian Association for Fair Elections and Civil Rights. Later, she corrected herself and specified that suspicions against the Civic Initiative for Free and Democratic Elections are justified, considering that with its claims the Initiative is causing confusion in the days preceding election day—13 October. Everyone is entitled to his doubts, the spokesman of the Central Electoral Commission philosophically summed up the situation. According to Nikolay Vulchanov, remarkable specialist and fearless champion of the struggle against phantom voters, who is a member of the Central Electoral Commission, the main guarantee against phantom voters lies in the hands of the polling stations' chairmen. However, we just do not understand what they could be holding in their hands.

The final election results will be published no earlier than 23 October 1991. They will be officially announced by the Central Electoral Commission.

Ability of Election Computing Team Questioned

AU1010163191 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 8 Oct 91 p 1

[Report by Vasil Popov: "Specialists Question Decision of Central Election Commission on Counting Votes"]

[Text] According to a decision of the Central Election Commission adopted on 7 October, on 10 October the mathematicians who have been entrusted with computing the election results will "demonstrate" how the numerical data in the protocols will determine the image of the new legislature.

In the presence of representatives-experts (two from each political force that participates in the elections), the collective of the Institute of Mathematics at the Academy of Sciences and the Union of Mathematicians in Bulgaria will have to prove, under the leadership of Prof. Kamen Ivanov, that it was not by accident that it had been selected over the

"Data Processing Services" State Company and the Center for Transport Cybernetics and Automation at the Ministry of Transportation.

Already on 19 September, in a letter to the Central Election Commission, St. Dimitrov, general director of the "Data Processing Services" State company, asked the chairman of the Central Election Commission about the motives behind the decisions. He has received no answer to date. Other specialists also cannot answer the question of why an offer of 3.8 million leva has been accepted, when there were offers to do the same job for 1.6 million leva by the "Data Processing Services" State Company and 1.2 million leva by the Center for Transport Cybernetics and Automation.

Those two organizations could work in parallel and independently and then compare the results. The whole thing would have been cheaper by 1 million, said a senior scientific fellow and candidate of sciences who wished to remain anonymous. The same specialist also said that the "Data Processing Services" State Company has fixed structures (territorial computing centers) in all 31 constituencies, and the Center for Transport Cybernetics and Automation in five. On the other hand, Prof. Ivanov's collective will have to hire computers and personnel.

The "Data Processing Services" State Company has a ready program (software) from last year, which needs only slight modification. On the other hand, the mathematicians have yet to prepare a program. The Center for Transport Cybernetics and Automation can guarantee total protection against illegal input (forgeries), and code the information in a "military manner."

Todor Tsonev, member of the Central Election Commission, said to a DUMA reporter that there is no judicial obstacle to entrusting a provisionally created authors' collective with the job. We decided to employ that collective because we want a second check at the Central Election Commission of the results of the regional election commission's actions, Mr. Tsonev said. He did not himself address the question of whether the other two candidates could not carry out the double check of the results. However, he pointed out that their offers have artificially been decreased.

From his explanations, it is clear that the collective that computes the election results will also double-check them.

SDS's Dzherov Wants 'New Laws To Change System'

AU1010140091 Sofia NOVINI in Bulgarian 4 Oct 91 p 2

[Interview with Aleksandur Dzherov, chairman of the Parliamentary Legislative Commission, by Simeon Radevski; place and date not given]

[Text] Throughout the 14 months of its existence, the Seventh Grand National Assembly passed over 100 bills, resolutions, and legal acts that represented the basis of the change in our country's political and economic system. The results of their effect cannot be immediately felt, which is understandable, of course. However, the first and perhaps most difficult step in this direction has been accomplished.

The task of the Legislative Commission, chaired by Mr. Aleksandur Dzherov, was the most difficult of that period.

Let us hear what Mr. Dzherov himself thinks about the cooperation of the National Assembly deputies from different parties, who represented opposed views and convictions:

"In the Legislative Commission, I worked with very experienced lawyers, and that was the basic link that brought us closer together. The very fact that we succeeded in drafting so many legal acts, in amending numerous old ones, and in building a comprehensive system of changes in the country's economic structure is sufficient reason to believe that we have accomplished some work. Well, there have been difficulties, indeed, but no one could have expected things to be easier. As a matter of fact, a peaceful change of the system was achieved in Bulgaria, which is a difficult, controversial, and prolonged process. As far as I am concerned, I aspire for radical changes, but they should only be implemented on a legal basis.

[Danevski] How do you evaluate the new laws?

[Dzherov] There have been numerous debates on the question. I think that, as far as the economic laws are concerned, the general conviction prevails that they are excellent. Let us look at worldwide legislation. Laws are being amended everywhere. I must tell you that I had numerous discussions with representatives and legal experts from several European countries and the United States. They all admire the positive aspects of our new legislation and the speed with which the bills were passed. Let us not mention any names, but I represent Bulgaria in one of the major councils attached to the European Common Market, and I had enough opportunities to discuss such issues.

[Danevski] Besides, every law is related to the time in which it is enacted, so that legislation can certainly be amended in the future.

[Dzherov] Naturally, how could we forecast everything about the legislation on competition, for example? We have no experience at all in competition within the country so far. How could we draft a relatively correct law in this respect? Nevertheless, the law is satisfactory, despite everything, because we drafted it after studying the experience of numerous other countries.

[Danevski] Mr. Dzherov, no one could really understand why the privatization law was not discussed at the plenary sessions.

[Dzherov] The controversy over that particular bill revealed in a particularly striking manner the great difference in the views and convictions of people

belonging to different political parties. We always worked under time pressure in the National Assembly. Should we have adopted that law under pressure? The ideas of the different commission members and deputies were so controversial on that issue that it was hardly possible to find a point of contact. We also could not agree on the question about what should be the starting point of the reform—restitution or privatization. We could not reach a consensus, not even a rapprochement of views on the issue.

[Danevski] Are you satisfied with the work of the National Assembly, generally speaking?

[Dzherov] Yes, indeed. A beginning was made, and the beginning is called a change of system. Of course, we shall continue to need new laws, the necessity of which is likely to stem from experience. Let us not be too hasty in making final evaluations because we may be mistaken.

BZNS-United Protests Election Law Violations

AU1010161591 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 7 Oct 91 pp 1, 4

["Strong Protest by the BZNS-United Permanent Board Addressed to Central Election Commission," issued in Sofia on 6 Oct]

[Text] Esteemed Gentlemen,

We strongly protest in connection with the election poster of the Union of Democratic Forces-Liberals [SDS-Liberals], which contains a propaganda item related to the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union-United [BZNS-United] and a description of our ballot. Furthermore, the poster wrongly describes the colors of our ballot. The colors described are those of another party's ballot.

The BZNS-United has not been consulted about the publication of such a poster and has not given its consent; therefore, it considers the arbitrary act of the SDS-Liberals a rude, political provocation.

In this case, the Law on Electing People's Deputies, Municipal Councillors, and Mayors has been violated—more specifically, Chapter 7 of that law.

Therefore, we insist on adopting immediate measures to stop the dissemination of the poster, to destroy it, and to seek strict responsibility from its authors.

Second, we protest against the discriminatory attitude of Bulgarian Television toward the election rallies of the BZNS-United and the rude violation on the part of the Television of the decision of the Grand National Assembly on access to the national mass media and informing the public during the election campaign.

What do we have in mind?

On Thursday [3 October], with the personal authorization of Mr. Saparev, after the "In the World and in Our Country" news program, Lyubomir Kyuchukov, representative of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], was allowed to speak on television. The same opportunity was granted on Friday [4 October] to Aleksandur Dzherov and Milan Drenchev, and on Saturday [5 October], after the "Panorama" program, to Petur Dertliev.

To preserve the balance in reporting the positions and rallies of the various political forces by the Television, we requested the same opportunity and asked the Television for a few minutes on Sunday [6 October] evening but met with a refusal.

On the basis of the aforementioned decision of the Grand National Assembly, we express our protest and urge you to publish your position in connection with the violations that were listed.

Third, we again pose the issue of the order of placing the ballots in the polling booths and remind that the BZNS-United was registered in third place in the Central Election Commission list.

We categorically declare that, if the Central Election Commission does not clearly and categorically express its opinion on the aforementioned issues, BZNS-United will review the issue of its participation in the coming elections.

Sofia, 6 October 1991

Havel Meets Officers on Army Role, Screening Law

AU1610124891 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Czech 1830 GMT 15 Oct 91

[Jiri Vich report on a meeting between President Vaclav Havel and senior Czechoslovak Army officers at the Defense Ministry in Prague on 15 October]

[Text] [Vich] The assembly of senior Czechoslovak Army officers continued today with a discussion on the practical implementation of the new military doctrine in the activities of officers and men. Vaclav Havel, president of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, visited the officers during the afternoon. Among other things, he discussed the Army's role in our constitutional and legal arrangement:

[Begin Havel recording] No matter what happens, at the moment we are a federal state, we have a single Army, and this Army plays a certain integrative role when carrying out its mission. I think the various pronouncements that would like—spontaneously and independently of the process of constitutional transformation in our federation—to grant independence to certain units based on the national principle are very irresponsible and dangerous. [end recording]

[Vich] Vaclav Havel also spoke about the screenings law:

[Begin Havel recording] I consider this law to be problematic in many points, and I would like to initiate its amendment in the Federal Assembly. I say this because I do not think this law and its adoption should arouse unnecessary nervousness in the corps of commanders. The Army has enough problems, you all have enough problems, and it would not be appropriate for you to be bothered by this issue. First, it is not clear whether the law will be amended; second, if it is implemented in the form it was adopted, it is clear that the minister of national defense can—in accordance with the Army's needs, its security, and its smooth operation—make exceptions. [end recording]

Slovak Confederative Arrangement Plans Revealed

AU1610092591 Prague CESKE A MORAVSKOSLEZSKE ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 14 Oct 91 pp 1, 3

[Unattributed report: "A Confederation by Arbitration"; passage in italics published in Slovak]

[Text] In Thursday's [10 October] MLADA FRONTA DNES, Czech Deputy Prime Minister Jan Strasky expressed his opinion on the Slovak side's concept for the future division of jurisdiction within the joint state. Among other things, he pointed out that, rather than clearly yielding important jurisdiction to the federal cabinet, Slovak representatives are inclined toward establishing arbitration commissions, that is, "conciliation bodies that—by a system of permanent arbitration—would create conditions for certain scope in the economic, customs, taxation, and credit spheres." According to Deputy Prime Minister Strasky, "In its final analysis, the Slovak Government's concept is not a federative one, but contains all the features of a confederation by arbitration."

We are of the opinion that what J. Strasky said could also relate to the Slovak Government's comprehensive point of view regarding negotiations on the division of jurisdiction in the economic sphere involving the republican governments and the joint state. Our editorial office managed to obtain a copy of this document, dated 2 October, from Bratislava sources. It is apparent from the document that Slovak representatives are indeed oriented toward a very loose confederative constitutional and legal arrangement.

It seems that Slovak representatives have already reached the point beyond which it would make no sense to talk about a joint state. In this extreme situation—involving the future of every single one of us—we consider it appropriate to break through the information barrier and to give the public an opportunity to ponder the point of view that, to date, has been discussed behind closed doors. Therefore, we are publishing the document in full in the original Slovak version:

The Slovak Government's comprehensive point of view regarding the negotiations on the division of authority (jurisdiction) in the economic sphere involving the republican governments and the joint state's government:

I. Fundamental Starting Points

The comprehensive point of view proceeds from the amendment to Constitutional Law No. 103 on the Czechoslovak Federation, and especially from its principle philosophy that there is jurisdiction for the joint state and jurisdiction for the republics.

It is possible to establish joint republican bodies where there is a common interest in coordinating solutions to matter-of-fact and systemic problems.

In the economic sphere of the division of jurisdiction, the government proceeds from the results reached by the expert group approved by the Slovak National Council Presidium for drafting the economic part of the draft constitution.

In harmony with this, we recommend that the following fundamental prerequisites be adhered to:

—the thorough assertion that the republics' sovereignty is original;

—the joint state's jurisdiction is determined by the extent of the areas and issues delegated to it by the republics;

—the republics bear responsibility for their own economic and social development, for which they must have the appropriate economic implements;

—the economies of the Slovak Republic and the Czech Republic operate in a common domestic market with a common currency and the free movement of labor, goods, and capital;

—all property is the property of the Slovak Republic and the Czech Republic, apart from property belonging to the joint state essential for carrying out the activities delegated by the republics;

—activities and issues not delegated to the joint state's jurisdiction belong to the republics' jurisdiction.

II. The Joint State's Jurisdiction

It is envisaged that the appropriate central organs (ministries) will be established in connection with the joint state's jurisdiction and that the mechanism (personnel, procedural) for implementing and asserting the two republics' interests on the principle of parity, including the secretary of state function, will be precisely determined.

The joint state's jurisdiction will incorporate:

1. The joint state's defense (the defense doctrine).

2. Foreign policy to the extent agreed upon.

3. The joint state's budget with the following revenues:

—revenue from the joint state's organizations (budget funded organizations, banks of emission, and the defense department);

—consumer taxes and duties;

—contributions (an absolute sum) from the republics toward supplementing the joint state's revenue for the level of expenditure agreed upon;

and the following expenditures:

—for joint defense and security;

—for foreign activity;

—for the joint state's administration;

—for the unemployment fund.

4. Harmonizing Taxation. The essence of this will lie in specifying the minimum unity necessary for the joint state's taxation system.

5. A common currency and a common monetary and hard currency policy guaranteeing a common monetary system composed of the joint state's Central Bank, the Slovak National Bank, and the Czech National Bank as independent legal entities. The Council of Governors, controlling this banking system, will be the supreme organ.

6. Harmonizing customs policy and determining customs tariffs. A Customs Council will guarantee the jurisdiction assigned by an organ of the joint state.

7. General technical normalization and standardization guaranteed by the council on a nationwide level.

III. The Republics' Jurisdiction Where Joint Coordination Is Necessary

The activity of the republican organs will be coordinated by permanent or temporary inter-republican institutions (committees, commissions, and conferences) in the following spheres:

1. Decisive strategic aims in economic policy from the domestic and foreign viewpoints.

2. Finance and budget policy, including the financial market.

3. The concept for a prices and tariffs policy.

4. Foreign economic relations to the extent agreed upon.

5. Statistical information.

6. Accounting.

7. Energy policy, including nuclear safety.

8. Transportation and communications policy.

9. Radiocommunications and telecommunications to the extent agreed upon.

10. Labor relations, employment, wages policy, and social security.

11. The joint state's material reserves.

12. The concept for the agriculture and food complex.

13. Social security funds (fund).

IV. General Remarks

The government proceeded from the following principles in its proposals for the jurisdiction arrangement:

—that the republics have an opportunity to conclude international agreements and treaties;

—that every citizen of the joint state has equal rights in economic activities, equal opportunities and obligations, equal pension and social security prospects, and equal guarantees as an entrepreneur, owner, employer, consumer, and participant in the social network.

The size of the joint state's revenues and expenditures—outlined in part II—is conditioned by a final solution to the arrangement of the entrepreneurial sphere on a territorial principle.

Disagreements Within Slovak Coalition Viewed

AU1510170391 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 11 Oct 91 p 3

[Alena Melicharkova commentary: "Coalition and Opposition in Coalition; Who Will Cut Through the Gordian Knot of Views?"]

[Text] Recent statements by Slovak Government officials cause doubts in the ordinary citizen about the functioning of the Slovak Government coalition. From the very start of the existence of Jan Carnogursky's cabinet, it has been apparent that his economic ministers are scarcely able to find a common language. The very membership of the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] and the Public Against Violence movement [VPN] and, more recently, also of the Democratic Party [DS] indicates relatively profound differences of opinion, including on questions as fundamental as the division of economic powers between the republics and the federation. While one group upholds as few powers for the federation as possible, the other group maintains a rather pro- federal view of this problem.

There is no reason to object when the parties to the dispute negotiate the coalition's common policy behind the cabinet's closed doors. The situation becomes somewhat different, however, when the negotiations resemble a tedious and laborious birth and some protagonists simply run out of patience. This is how we might characterize the present situation of the government coalition. On 7 October, Helena Wolekova (VPN), Slovak minister of labor and social affairs, emphatically protested the course of action by Viliam Oberhauser (KDH), the minister of forestry and water economy. According to Minister Wolekova, Minister Oberhauser "deserves credit" for the fact that the proposal of the Commission of Economic Experts that was submitted to the Slovak National Council [SNR] Presidium on 8 October (in connection with the drafting of the Slovak Republic Constitution) reflects only the KDH's ideas, and not the VPN's. This attack was a signal that there is a hitch somewhere in the government coalition.

The economic ministers and the deputy prime minister demonstrated this disharmony of the cabinet once again when they participated in the aforementioned meeting of the SNR Presidium [on 8 October]. Even before this meeting, V. Oberhauser stressed before journalists that the conclusions reached by the commission of experts received support from representatives of 10 legislative parties, that is, including the VPN and the DS. In these conclusions, the federation is given jurisdiction over defense, currency, and foreign policy, the finances of the common state only, customs and taxation matters, and technical standards. But even while Oberhauser was speaking to journalists, it was possible to discern strong disapproval in the faces of ministers Jozef Danco (VPN) and Jan Holcik (DS) and Deputy Prime Minister Anton Vavro (VPN). When, during a break in the SNR Presidium meeting, SNR Deputy Chairman Jan Klepac (KDH) briefed journalists in the same spirit [as Oberhauser], the above mentioned ministers started to demand the journalists' attention. No wonder. Their views on how the economic powers of the future [common] state and the republics ought to be expressed in the Slovak Republic Constitution evidently differed from the position presented [by Jan Klepac].

A. Vavro pointed out, in particular, that one should consider adding the sphere of labor and social affairs to federal powers. Regarding V. Oberhauser and J. Klepac, he suggested that their views are characteristic of what Marxism defines as subjective idealism. What did he mean by this? Even if he did not mean anything, at the very least he indicated disagreements between KDH and VPN economic ministers.

It is no wonder, given this situation in the government coalition, that SNR deputies for one nationally oriented party are spreading the rumor in the legislature that the prime minister is preparing his resignation. It is apparent that the present shape of the government coalition, and the solution insinuated by the aforementioned deputies, will not enhance stability in Slovakia and the contentment of its citizens.

Klepac Explains Republic Positions on Constitution

AU1610132091 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 11 Oct 91 p 13

[Reprint from SLOBODNY PIATOK No. 41 of a statement by Jan Klepac, Slovak National Council deputy chairman; place and date not given: "In What We Differ"]

[Text] "First, in the Czech Republic they understand the common state as a state of a relatively strong centralist orientation. The Czech side is of the opinion that we must have a strong federative state, which means a strong federal government, which, in turn means that some powers of the national governments—which the power sharing bill put within their jurisdiction last year—must be returned to Prague. No one in Slovakia wants such a federation— not even the parties and movements that openly support the federation: the Public Against Violence movement, the Democratic Party, and, some of the Hungarian parties. The Christian Democratic Movement is supporting a loose federation with elements of a confederation, or a confederative setup.

The second problem pertains to the common economic space. In the Czech Republic, they understand it as a unified economic market on the territory of the entire state. On the other hand, in Slovakia, we are of the opinion that the CSFR economy is made up of the national economies between which there is a free flow of capital, goods, and labor—as required by the market economy—but economic tools such as customs, taxes, and prices are in the hands of national governments. Whoever is responsible for economy must also have the tools for its management.

The third problem is the constitutional course of action. The Czech side affirms that, according to today's Constitution, the constitutional action would be to conclude a treaty that would be a sort of "self-consuming" [samokonzumovatelna] treaty, that is, it would have no effect after it is concluded, and this treaty would find its reflection in the future federative constitution. Only then would the national republics write their own constitutions. On the other hand, we believe that the constitutional action would be to let the

republics prepare their own constitutions—which is a symbol of the sovereignty of a nation—and then, in a state treaty, they would voluntarily cede some of their powers to a higher state body.

The fourth problem is the treaty. The Czech political scene understands this treaty as a sort of agreement, and it wants this treaty to be pushed to the level of an agreement between the Czech National Council and the Slovak National Council. We, in turn, affirm that two sovereign states—as Article One of the Constitution says—have the right to conclude a state treaty. This is also in conformity with the Vienna Protocol on the Law on Concluding Treaties [smluvni pravo].

The fifth point is sovereignty under international law. Czech representatives are united on this point: Only the federation should have sovereignty under international law. However, since 1968, when Czech and Slovak statehood was fixed in the Constitution, both the Czech Republic and Slovak Republic have their own status under international law. Another matter is that both republics have ceded this status to the federation. Yet, the federation and the republics may share it, which would make it possible for both republics to conclude international treaties and join international organizations."

Impact of Tank Export Suspension Examined

AU1710103391 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 16 Oct 91 pp 1, 6

[Peter Malar report: "Equal, More Equal, The Most Equal"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted]

Overnight?

Last week the Federal Government decided to temporarily suspend, until an international conference on the Middle East is convened, Czechoslovak tank deliveries to Syria. The proposal was submitted by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the spirit of its current doctrine, and the Ministry of Foreign Trade did not veto it (despite Minister Baksay's strong words in the recent past). Supposedly, the Slovak Government had also been consulted on the proposal. According to our unofficial information, the proposal has never been discussed by the Slovak Government, but has only been considered by the prime minister and Deputy Prime Minister M. Porubjak.

At the [14 October] news conference of the CSFR and Israeli presidents, Vaclav Havel went even further. He declared before Hayim Herzog that we cannot export weapons to the Middle East (does that apply also to the time after the peace conference?).

The Consequences of Conflicting Orders

The philosophy of a peace policy and of the arms industry's conversion is appealing, humane, and universally acceptable. What is not acceptable, however, are the conflicting orders for enterprises. Just a few figures to illustrate the situation: The contract with a Syrian customer represents $225 million, that is, 6.7 billion korunas. Deliveries worth $90 million have been realized thus far, and the total value of deliveries was to reach $158 million by the end of the year. Hence, the shortfall this year will represent $67.8 million, roughly 2 billion korunas. The Syrian customer will most probably cancel the irrevocable letter of credit, because the deal will not be interrupted under the influence of what can be termed "force majeure." Apart from the loss of another $67 million, that is, another 2 billion korunas, in 1992, the cancellation of the contract would also mean the forfeiture of the bank guarantee for 10 percent of the proceeds realized thus far, that is, about 270 million korunas.

Who Will Pay for It?

The suspension of deliveries of tanks to Syria would reduce this year's profit of the Turcianske Engineering Works in Martin by 413 million korunas and its levies surrendered to the state budget by 227 million korunas. The enterprise's level of insolvency would increase by 2 billion korunas. Who will pay for it? The United States, the wealthiest country in the world, wealthy Israel, or poor Czechoslovakia finding itself in a deep economic depression caused by the transformation of its economy? Or perhaps even the Turcianske Engineering Works themselves?

There is no need to scare anyone, but this would also mean a substantially faster growth of unemployment in the Turec area. An explanation is also demanded by the trade union of metal workers.

And now a real gem, which I have reserved for the end. The management of the Turcianske Engineering Works has learned everything only from the media. Yesterday, they had still not received any official notification, so they keep working assiduously on the deliveries for Syria. They vehemently refuse to make any comments to the press, which is hardly surprising.

Air Force Views Burden of 'Civil War' at Border

AU1110142191 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 10 Oct 91 p 4

[Interview with Major General Miklos Csurgay, commander of an Air Defense Unit, by Antal Andrassy at the Hungarian Air Defense Center in Veszprem; date not given: "No Change in the Situation in the South—Our Air Force Is Ready And Able To Fulfill Its Tasks"]

[Text] [Andrassy] What are you commanding from this place where Hungary's gold stocks and crown were once guarded?

[Csurgay] Here we command all three services of the Hungarian Air Defense: the radar troops, air defense missile units, and the fighter aircraft units deployed in various parts of the country.

[Andrassy] It is said that Hungary has the smallest army of all the former socialist countries. Does this also apply to our air force?

[Csurgay] Yes, it does. The Polish, CSFR, and Romanian air forces are bigger than ours. The Yugoslav Air Force has four times as many aircraft as the Hungarian Air Force.

[Andrassy] What about the technological level of your aircraft?

[Csurgay] That is mostly identical. However, our neighbors also have much more modern aircraft. Many people could see that at the latest air defense parade held in Taszar. Our stock of combat aircraft is mostly made up of MIG-21 fighters.

[Andrassy] At one of its most recent meetings, the Hungarian Government discussed the importance of modernizing our air defense system in the course of developing the Hungarian Army.

[Csurgay] We must admit that the F-16 fighters are excellent aircraft, but Hungary's capacity to bear burdens is limited too. People should be aware of the fact that we are unable to do more at present. We cannot defend ourselves against a Gulf War arsenal. Moreover, we can only fulfill our peaceful tasks with difficulty, only with sacrifices on the part of our personnel.

[Andrassy] What extra burdens does the civil war at our southern border put on you?

[Csurgay] Because of the current situation in Yugoslavia, we must first of all strengthen our radar activity, to be able to see low-flying aircraft, too. Our parliament's Defense Committee checked this activity recently and spoke positively about it. We ordered an increase in the alert status of our combat aircraft and we also restored our former alert helicopter service. While the former are in a state of alert mostly on airfields, the latter are on regular patrols.

[Andrassy] What does "mostly" mean?

[Csurgay] This means that, when our airspace is violated, our aircraft will take off immediately and carry out their action in accordance with international standard practice. I must say that, according to our experience so far, there have been no aggressive violations of our airspace by the Yugoslavs. They flew over our territory by mistake or for tactical reasons.

[Andrassy] What does "tactical reasons" mean?

[Csurgay] For example, a missile was launched on the village of Locs from our territory, in order to make sure that the missile aimed at this village, which is situated directly on the border, would not fall on our territory accidentally. As for mistakes, we must accept the fact that one or two seconds represent kilometers in the case of aircraft flying at a speed close to the speed of sound. Therefore, it is rather difficult to maneuver them precisely.

[Andrassy] When did the latest airspace violation take place?

[Csurga] At 0632 on 6 October. There has been no change in the situation at our southern border since then.

[Andrassy] Will a possible parliamentary decision to allow the Yugoslav Army to return to Serbia through Hungary cause any particular problem for you?

[Csurga] Land movements do not affect us. If they are given permission to carry out air transport, the important thing for us is that this transport should be allowed, and this is a political, rather than a military issue. Let me convey my thanks to the population living along our southern borders for their great help and understanding in accepting our patrols and alert units.

'De Facto' Recognition of Slovenia, Croatia Viewed

AU1610151591 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 12 Oct 91 p 3

[Interview with Boldizsar Nagy, expert on international law, by Katalin Decsi; place and date not given: "The Acceptance of Slovene and Croatian Passports—A Step Toward De Facto Recognition"]

[Text] While the Hungarian Government has not recognized Slovenia and Croatia as independent states, the road into Hungary is free for those using the passports of the two republics. What is the explanation for this, we asked Boldizsar Nagy.

[Nagy] It is the right of each country to decide whether to allow someone with a passport into its territory. Each country follows its own laws on this issue. According to the Hungarian rules, a person with a valid passport has to be allowed to enter unless there are reasons disqualifying that person. The Hungarian authorities, namely the minister for interior, decides what constitutes a valid travel document. Quite simply, what happened was that

the border guards waited for orders stating that the Slovene and Croatian passports were suitable to prove one's personal identity.

[Decsi] What is the international significance of this gesture?

[Nagy] This is already close to de facto recognition, which means a limited and temporary recognition as opposed to the complete and final recognition. In other words, it is a recognition of facts, which does not include recognition of the legal situation. This practice evolved in connection with the Latin American states in the last century. The powers that did not want to harm their relations with Spain but welcomed trade with the states newly liberated from Spanish rule, recognized the independence of the Latin American states de facto rather than de jure to make everyone satisfied.

In my opinion, our current step is a part of de facto recognition. Many other things also belong here. For example, the Hungarian Government's negotiations with the leaders of the republics as state leaders is also a fact pointing in the direction of de facto recognition. In this case, an additional fact is that, by all probability, a de jure—that is a complete and final—recognition will occur when the two republics are recognized as members of the international community and subjects of international law. The current event is only a symbol that reflects the fact that in the meantime we acknowledge the existence of these countries.

[Decsi] How frequent are these kinds of events?

[Nagy] Accepting as valid the passport of a formally unrecognized country is not an unknown phenomenon. Taiwan is in this situation in the case of most countries. To remain on our continent, the GDR had a similar status in the eyes of most Western countries until the mid-1960's. Recognition of the GDR would have been a very unfriendly act in the eyes of the FRG. However, this did not prevent travelling to any Western countries with a GDR passport.

Hungary's Perspective on CSCE Meeting on Yugoslavia

AU1510150891 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 12 Oct 91 p 3

[Interview with Istvan Gyarmati, Hungarian ambassador to Czechoslovakia, and Istvan Szabo, deputy department head at the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, by Tibor Kis in Prague; date not given: "Reception of Hungarian Proposals"]

[Text] At the Prague [CSCE] crisis meeting, the Hungarian delegation gave details of the difficult situation encountered by the Hungarian community in Yugoslavia. Our correspondent in Prague interviewed Istvan Gyarmati and Istvan Szabo on the response given to Hungary's proposals and observations.

[Kis] Was any progress made on the issues that primarily concern Hungary?

[Gyarmati] I feel that we achieved unprecedented results. For example, the meeting made a very firm statement that the armed forces in Yugoslavia should be placed under the control of democratically elected civilian organizations. We also made progress as far as the protection of national minorities is concerned. I would mention two main points in relation to this. First of all, the meeting agreed that all interested parties, including national minority representatives, should be involved in the peace process. Second, the meeting also agreed that national minority rights should be included in the planned agreement aimed at settling the crisis.

[Szabo] I think it can be seen as a significant success that, for the first time during this series of crisis meetings, we were able to inform the delegates about the dreadful blows suffered by the Hungarian community in Yugoslavia, primarily in Syrmia and eastern Slavonia.

[Kis] Which new elements have been brought up since the last meeting of this kind?

[Gyarmati] One of the points was whether or not peacekeeping forces could be sent to Yugoslavia if the need arose. It is also a novelty that we unanimously agreed that if a cease-fire is violated, individuals should be called to account.

[Kis] Over the last few weeks, people have said that it might be constructive to send international observers to the Hungarian-Yugoslav border because of the violations of Hungary's airspace. Was this idea mentioned at the Prague conference?

[Gyarmati] That is not a topic to be discussed here. Incidentally, on 4 October, we signed an agreement with the European Community, allowing EC observers to use Hungary's territory as a logistics background. The next logical step would be to send out observers.

National Assembly Debates Romanian Magyars Issue

LD1710061391 Budapest MTI in English 2020 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] Budapest, October 16 (MTI)—Hungary does not wish to interfere in Romania's internal affairs, and believes it is the internal affair of the Transylvanian ethnic Hungarians to decide on issues of its future. Also, Hungary regrets certain Romanian National Assembly MPs [members of parliament] used the idea of ethnic Hungarians in Romania for creating an autonomous area to incite a hysterical mood against ethnic Hungarians, and Hungary, it was stated at the Hungarian parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee session.

Committee members discussed the question, after a report by Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky, in view of the sharp debates in Romania about creating a Szekel Land territorial autonomy, a conception highlighted by

the name of the Szekel Land group of the Democratic Federation of Hungarians in Romania. (A similar, limited territorial autonomy had existed under Gheorghiu-Dej, but was done away with in the Ceausescu era.)

The draft, sharply criticized within the Democratic Federation of Hungarians in Romania, provided an opportunity for certain Romanian circles to launch a slander campaign against Hungary. Foreign Affairs Committee members rejected this, stressing that inciting a hysterical mood contradicts both Hungarian and Romanian interests and intentions.

In connection with the latest slander, the Foreign Affairs Committee said major shortcomings still exist in ensuring minority rights in Romania. According to the committee, the Romanian Government and legislation should do everything possible to guarantee minority rights. Romania is obliged for this not only by the peace treaties, the committee said, but also by international agreements and norms.

Pollution at Soviet Military Sites Measured

AU1610153991 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 11 Oct 91 p 6

["O.Z."-signed interview with Balazs Magyar, head of a department at the Lorand Eotvos Geophysical Institute and member of the Committee on Environmental Damage Assessment; place and date not given: "Lead Mine at the Former Soviet Airfield—The Long-Term Harms of the 'Shilov-Cocktail'"]

[Text] A special drink has been named "Shilov-Cocktail" after the last commander-in-chief of the Southern Army Group that withdrew from Hungary after being temporarily stationed here for nearly 50 years. Its general composition is 75 percent kerosene, gasoline, and other hydrocarbons, 10 percent liquid resembling water, and the rest is sludge. It can be bottled in large quantities in Kalocsa and Kiskunlachaza. The temporary retailer of this liquid was Balazs Magyar, who gained broad experience as a member of the Committee on Environmental Damage Assessment that visits the Soviet military establishments.

[Magyar] Our institute examined 112 out of the 171 Soviet military locations in Hungary, including the airfields at Kiskunlachaza, Kalocsa, Sarmellek, and the 473 hectare airfield at Debrecen.

We isolated the rock masses soiled with oil, and we determined the clearing methods, but we also identified innumerable illegal dumping grounds. At the time of the troop withdrawals, materials—for example, oily cloths, air filters, and radio electronic components that could not be transported and were not accepted at the communal sites were buried in holes in the ground. Anticorrosion paint boxes with high levels of zinc, lead, and chrome and medical vaccines including bubonic plague and smallpox diagnosis materials were buried this way.

In Kiskunlachaza, a lead mine could be opened in an area the size of two or three rooms because, at places, the lead-content of the soil reaches 26 (!) percent here. At the same place, corn was sown on the dumping ground and, at the time of the survey, no one thought that car wrecks were hiding under the short stems of corn.

At Kalocsa, a one to 1.8-meter thick concentrated hydrocarbon layer floats immediately on top of the ground water. At Szolnok, barring two brick buildings, the Soviet side completely eliminated the area of the engineers' warehouse including the fence. They dug this nearly 60-km long wire three to four meters deep into the ground.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] Especially during the early stages of moving, lifting out fuel tanks presented problems....

[Magyar] By the end, we managed to convince them to leave the holes open because polluted materials would definitely get into them when they were filled up. In Papa, the holes were filled with garbage, building rubble, and debris, and this fact has to be kept in mind when this area is reused. We probed the areas using electromagnetic methods and discovered metals, reinforced concrete, and rubble. This method also reduced the risks of accident because we often found live power lines and pipe lines filled with fuel in the empty barracks!

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] Legends are told of the kerosene content of airfields. What is the truth?

[Magyar] There are several thousands of cubic meters of hydrocarbon in the soil. In Hungary, the airfield at Kiskunlachaza leads by 1,200 to 2,500 cubic meters, which can be extracted. At Kalocsa, there is a small amount of fixed hydrocarbon, but some 300 to 800 cubic meters of hydrocarbon moves freely in the soil. At the Debrecen airfield, a large mass of fixed hydrocarbon can be found over a large area, due to the long-term pollution. In such a case, extraction cannot be done by less expensive draining wells. Instead, we have to change the soil.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] Do these endanger the drinking water supply?

[Magyar] Hydrocarbons do migrate, but their speed is slower than the speed of the ground water. The danger is presented by the fact that these hydrocarbons spread over the top of the water and pollute larger areas. It is in Hungary's interest to extract the detected pollutants as soon as possible. However, this has become a somewhat secondary issue due to the breakup of the expert negotiations. Until a clear accounting is done, the Hungarian side will only guard these sites and will not use them, therefore, we cannot begin salvaging, which increases the costs. According to the government's point of view, the costs of salvaging would be covered from the income gained through selling these facilities. On the basis of the existing reports, the Environmental Management Institute indicated 20 out of the 171 facilities whose salvage is very urgent. In the case of six of them, it would be too

late even if we started work today. The order of the magnitude of the initial sum required for these are a billion forints. This sum is enough to isolate the pollutants and stop them from migrating.

Jeszenszky Examines Regional Economic Cooperation

AU1510135291 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 11 Oct 91 p 3

[Interview with Hungarian Foreign Affairs Minister Geza Jeszenszky by Warsaw correspondent Miklos Ritecz in Warsaw; date not given: "Polish Study—Jeszenszky: The Romanian Reaction Is Unfortunate"]

[Text] In his interview for the Warsaw correspondent of NEPSZABDSAG, Geza Jeszenszky explained that the three countries did not exclude the possibility of involving the areas along their eastern borders in their economic undertakings.

[Ritecz] Mr. Jeszenszky! Krakow has also shown that, as a result of our cooperation, relations with our northern neighbors and with Poland are closer. However, it also emerged that in the area of the economy and culture, our relations have declined....

[Jeszenszky] I would not talk about a decline. In my view, the decline in economic cooperation is very small. It affected an area that was a formality anyway. We delivered atrociously poor quality goods to each other on a contractual basis, as was customary in CEMA. This is what has stopped.

[Ritecz] However, there is a visible decline in the area of culture.

[Jeszenszky] We have to change over to the patronage system. Prices have increased and we do not yet have a strata of society whose members feel it a duty befitting their position to contribute to cultural foundations, for example. There are some signs of this initiative, but only to a small extent. In addition, under the new pricing system, we will have to find a way to deliver cultural goods to each other more cheaply.

[Ritecz] Along with the closer ties, can we also expect Warsaw to increasingly support us in such foreign policy issues in which they have shown caution so far—for example, national minority issues?

[Jeszenszky] In the last one and a half years, the Polish side has always been most willing to cooperate with us. This was also true in the national minority issue, among other things. We do not need any change in this area.

[Ritecz] A Polish journal has recently published an article that Transylvania should also be included in the region's cooperation. This attracted a passionate Romanian reaction. Did you discussed this issue in Krakow on this occasion?

[Jeszenszky] We talked about neither the study nor the Romanian reaction. In addition to the cooperation of the three countries and the work done within the Hexagonale, we do not exclude the possibility of including the areas along our eastern borders in various kinds of cooperation and economic activities. It would obviously be unfounded to say that the whole Soviet Union or even the whole of the Ukraine could be included in a new Adria-Baltic economic route. Nevertheless, I find it desirable to form closer economic links between areas along our borders. Only Romania has objected to this idea so far and only recently. This idea was not first published in the Polish study because it had already emerged in the spring of 1990. I find the hysterical Romanian reaction unfortunate. It was precisely Romania that indicated its desire to be included in our cooperation and, before our Visegrad meeting, wrote to us asking to be invited. We said that there were no obstacles to cooperation but these three countries were much closer to each other in all respects. I can certainly say that democracy is more developed in these three countries and it rests on more secure foundations.

Romania urges the cooperation of countries along the Danube, therefore, it can envisage a subregional cooperation along the Danube. However, it opposes the inclusion of Transylvania or some of its areas in the economic cooperation with southern Poland, Subcarpathia, eastern Slovakia, and northeastern Hungary.

[Ritecz] The chairman of the Slovak National Council indicated recently that Slovakia wants to participate as a full member in the work of the trilateral group. What is your opinion on this issue?

[Jeszenszky] This is a matter for the Czechs and the Slovaks. As far as international law is concerned, the Czechoslovak Federatal Republic is a single state. This is the way we treated it during our negotiations. Hence, we talk about the cooperation of three countries.

Kupa Comments on IMF Meeting, Budget Deficit

AU1710081591 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 15 Oct 91 p 5

[Interview with Finance Minister Mihaly Kupa by Peter Czauner in Bangkok on 14 October: "'How Dare Etele Barath?'—Kupa Promises Greater Toughness"]

[Text] A Hungarian delegation led by Mihaly Kupa participated in the general meeting of the IMF and the World Bank in Bangkok. We asked Mihaly Kupa to talk about the Hungarian delegation's activities on 14 October.

[Kupa] Among other people, Gyorgy Suranyi [chairman of the Hungarian National Bank] and Laszlo Bogar [state secretary at the Ministry of International Economic Relations] participated in our meetings today in which we, perhaps, managed to achieve our aims too well. Hungary is starting to be praised too much and it is becoming a model country.

[Czauner] Why is it a problem if Hungary is praised?

[Kupa] It is better to be cautious. A lot of praise may also be dangerous because it requires a steady performance. During our negotiations, we talked about our budget deficit and the leaders of the financial world will become cautious if this deficit grows. Nevertheless, the real danger of the success of changes in Hungary lies in the fact that people will want to present Hungary as a model for a large country like the Soviet Union. However, we are too small for this task.

[Czauner] In that case, when Hungary is said to be a model country, why is the budget deficit being taken so seriously?

[Kupa] We are told that the most important thing is to keep a tight hold on the budget deficit—in contrast to my "excellent" colleagues who, in the meantime, are incessantly giving interviews asserting the contrary in Hungary. We must not allow inflation to get out of hand, the balance of payments to tip over, or the tax burden to increase excessively during the period of changes.

[Czauner] On Monday [14 October], the Finance Ministry failed to hold its news conference on the latest concept on personal taxation....

[Kupa] I do not know the reason for that but I do know that they are intending to again revise the bill on personal taxation and wish to limit the exceptions. Incidentally, I do agree with this point.

[Czauner] You will obviously return home with some extra ammunition. What will you use it for?

[Kupa] It has been proven that the international financial world accepts the Hungarian Government's economic policy. I do not wish to change that. There are certain limits in the tax system and the budget deficit and I will hold firmly to these limits. If you like, I will return home more hardened than the way I left—regardless of what kind of attacks certain government commissioners launch against me in the press, instead of handing in their resignation.

[Czauner] Who do you mean?

[Kupa] Etele Barath. I do not know how a government commissioner has the right to make other people responsible for his own mistakes. If someone has two years to prepare the concept on the World Expo, then he should be dealing with that. For that matter, the financiers I met here have not mentioned at all that Hungary wanted to manage a World Expo.

[Czauner] Your voice appears to be tired.

[Kupa] We had a long day on Monday. Early in the morning, we started with a working breakfast and discussed Soviet issues. I found it exasperating to see to what extent they did not see the Soviet situation clearly and how many illusions they had on solving the problems. Jacques Attali [EBRD chairman] was the only one who said that the issue was not the provision of food aid. A decade-long program is necessary.

1991 Economic Statistics Show 47% Exports to EC

LD1710062991 Budapest MTI in English 2106 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] Budapest, October 16 (MTI)—A turn has taken place in Hungarian external economy in the first nine months of 1991: 47 per cent of exports were to countries of the European Economic Community, half of this, 26 per cent of total exports, were to Germany. Exports to Germany rose 40 per cent, said International Economic Relations Minister Bela Kadar, at a press conference today.

This year exports rose 31 per cent, within which sales to the OECD and the developing countries rose by 17 per cent. Last year, Hungary exported 3.3 billion roubles of products to former Comecon [Council for Mutual Economic Assistance] countries. This figure dropped to 520 million roubles during the first three quarters of the year.

However, a 750 million dollars rise registered in trade with these countries. With respect to proportions, eastern trade dropped to under 20 per cent, and seems to have hit its low point, Kadar said.

Abridged Polish-Belorussian Cooperation Declaration

AU1610141591 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 11 Oct 91 p 7

["Abridged" form of "Declaration on Good-Neighborly Relations, Mutual Understanding, and Cooperation Between the Republic of Poland and the Republic of Belorussia" signed in Warsaw on 10 October]

[Text] 1. Mutual relations between Poland and the Republic of Belorussia are based on the principles of equality, respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the two states, and noninterference in internal affairs.

2. Poland and Belorussia have no territorial claims with respect to each other, and the border between them cannot be changed now or in the future.

3. Poland and Belorussia respect the ethnic, cultural, and linguistic identity of national minorities. The two states will take the necessary steps to improve the position of national minorities. The position of the Polish minority in Belorussia and that of the Belorussian minority in Poland. They will also ensure that buildings and monuments pertaining to Belorussian history and culture in Poland and to Polish history and culture in Belorussia will be preserved.

4. Poland and Belorussia will expand comprehensive cultural cooperation and cooperation in the field of law enforcement. The two countries will commence work on drawing up an agreement on cooperation in the field of youth exchanges. They will also commence work on the drawing up of an agreement on the establishment of centers of culture and learning—a Polish center in Minsk, and a Belorussian center in Warsaw.

5. Poland and Belorussia intend to increase cooperation in the economic field.

6. Poland and Belorussia will cooperate closely in the field of environmental protection and the efficient use of natural resources. The two countries are in agreement in their assessment of the scale of the Chernobyl catastrophe and believe that international actions, including action on the part of the United Nations Organization, is necessary in order to minimize the scale of the catastrophe.

7. Poland and Belorussia are examining issues pertaining to the establishment of diplomatic and consular relations and will also hold consultations on matters pertaining to bilateral relations and on international issues.

J. Kaczynski Interviewed on Legislative Elections

AU1610105891 Warsaw EXPRESS WIECZORNY Election Supplement in Polish 11-13 Oct pp 1, 3

[Interview with Jaroslaw Kaczynski, leader of the Center Accord and Center Citizens Accord Sejm candidate for the Warsaw city district, by Tomasz Zyro; place and date not given: "Who Is Afraid of the Center Citizens Accord?"]

[Text] [Zyro] I know that you do not like being asked about things that lie outside a politician's public life, but... the fate of your family, your forebears has often been linked to the history of Poland.

[Kaczynski] I admit that your question has taken me by surprise. My father took part in the Warsaw uprising, and was awarded the Virtuti Militari. My mother was not caught up in the uprising, because she was in Starachowice, but she belonged to the Gray Ranks. She was a nurse during Operation "Storm." My grandfather's brother was killed in the 1920 Polish-Soviet War. My ancestors took part in the January uprising. The most interesting story about a relative of mine concerns the husband of my mother's sister. Miedza-Tomaszewski was an important figure in the Home Army and has a grave at Brodon that dates back to 1941, but he was active in the Home Army until the end of the war. He is 80 now and continues to enjoy good health.

[Zyro] You do not like to talk about these things.

[Kaczynski] That is not quite right, but you have to act on your own behalf and not that of your forebears. You can have splendid forebears and then sully the family name. Although I am pleased that I grew up in that kind of family, I see no reason why I should seek shelter behind their achievements.

[Zyro] Election campaigns see some below-the-belt punches concerning people's private lives. You seem to come under particular fire.

[Kaczynski] For that very reason I am pleased that I have the forebears that I do. I think that they did what they should have done, and that helps at difficult times.

[Zyro] For the many newspapers that are hostile toward you, especially communist ones, writing about the Presidential Chancellery, which you head, is a real money spinner.

[Kaczynski] I am pleased that someone can make a living off me, even if they are GAZETA WYBORCZA journalists. The chancellery is an institution that is there to serve the president. It advises on and prepares documents that are to be signed. I am not in charge of the entire apparatus. I am not responsible for the presidential cabinet or the president's press spokesman. It is a typical government office, the difference being that it is a high-level government office. I think that it is organized well, but it is more my predecessors who deserve the credit for that. Sometimes the chancellery's work is linked to political initiatives, such as the campaign to hold elections sooner, with work on getting the state to function normally. There are two skills needed for the work. You have to know what the state is and you have to know what the law is.

[Zyro] Why is such a negative image being created of the Presidential Chancellery?

[Kaczynski] A fierce campaign is being waged, but more against the Center Citizens Accord than against the chancellery. The attacks often strike at the authority of the state, but that is the style and level of the campaign.

[Zyro] When do you leave work?

[Kaczynski] I come to work at nine and usually leave the building at between 10 and 12 in the evening.

[Zyro] The election campaign is heating up now, do you have time to follow it?

[Kaczynski] Sometimes. However, the campaign has some distinctive phases. The communists are giving the campaign an aggressive character, making it about settling scores, but they do not even want to account for what they did over 45 years. On the other hand, the Democratic Union is trying to quiet things down, to calm people, to give the impression of caring for people after a catastrophe, but the Center Citizens Accord and the Catholic Election Campaign are the main target of the attacks from both sides. That is no coincidence, because both we and the Catholic Election Campaign are calling for the communists to be made to answer for leading the country to economic ruin. The communists do not like us, because they realize that the snug nest that they have built themselves is threatened, and nor do we like them.

On Saturday [5 October], the Citizens Parliamentary Club submitted a proposal on declaring all special services to be criminal organizations. The Democratic Union voted along with the communists. It did everything to stop this parliament from making a decision on the proposal. The strange thing is that it was Deputy Rokita's report (he belongs to the Democratic Union) that exposed these services' criminal activities. That really was a compromising alliance.

[Zyro] Do you see politics as being about a clash of programs, especially in an election campaign

[Kaczynski] I think that there is too much confusion, there are too many slogans and too many causes in this campaign. This leaves people disoriented. We can be singled out in the confusion, because the Center Accord is concerned about several basic issues. First, what does it mean to enter Europe with Polish traditions? What is the role of the church and Christian values in this tradition? Furthermore, are the privileges and special arrangements created by the communists to be called into question in the process of constructing a new system? That is what can be termed decommunization. Third, do we accept the Balcerowicz form of economic practice? We do not accept continuing along this path of large-scale unemployment and profound recession.

Fourth, how do we want to fight the enormous level of crime? We do not accept the views of Jacek Kuron, who maintains that it is all the same whether we fight it or not. We have an answer to that question, while others dodge the issue.

[Zyro] Is there still time to work out a compromise with the Democratic Union?

[Kaczynski] I hope that the time for that will come. Unfortunately, at the moment, the situation is not conducive to that. The electoral code was thought up in order to harm Polish democracy. The gentlemen from the Democratic Union who accused the Center Citizens Accord and the Presidential Chancellery of campaigning for their own ends, now admit that the electoral code is a disaster. They came up with the idea that the electoral code was the price that had to be paid for holding elections. If the Democratic Union had adopted a different attitude in the Sejm, then the communists would not have had a say in anything.

[Zyro] Is the negative image you have not partially of your own making? After all, when you put together that alliance made up of "Solidarity," the Democratic Party, and the United Peasant Party, you had a chance to stop being in the background and to acquire a public profile, but instead of you, it was Slawomir Siwek who appeared on television.

[Kaczynski] It was not publicity that mattered, but the end result. I was particularly disliked on the left side of the Sejm. I was like a red rag to a bull for them.

[Zyro] Your statements are carefully considered, logical, and very rational. That surely harms your image, because many Poles prefer to have things expressed in a more emotional way.

[Kaczynski] Of course, I try to talk and argue in a logical way. However, the main reason is a different one: A campaign has been waged against me and the party since the Center Citizens Accord was formed. There is the main campaign, the aggressive one, and then there are the quiet, hushed tones of the daily campaign. I witnessed that for myself when I got food poisoning and had to stay at home once. There was a program about Balcerowicz, and people were being stopped in the street and asked about their views. Suddenly, I heard people shouting slogans against Kaczynski in the background. The consistent use of such methods has an effect on the conscious and subconscious mind. I do not conceal the fact that our election campaign is directed against those who do not want anything to change. We are fully aware of the nature of the campaign that we have launched, although we too could have come to some kind of convenient arrangement for ourselves, but what matters is the national interest, the welfare of the country. If we do not manage to dismantle this network of interests using democratic methods, then Poland's future looks gloomy.

[Zyro] What do you mean by a "network of interests"?

[Kaczynski] There is no doubt that at the "roundtable" the communists yielded political power in exchange for economic privileges and a good position in the mass media. The majority of the opposition elites that grew out of "Solidarity" accepted the arrangement and became entangled in it. They want to operate within it, but the arrangement should be seen as being irrational. The active section of society sees it as being profoundly unjust. In many towns, we see ordinary "Solidarity" activists being thrown out of their jobs and life is made difficult for them. Just criticizing local authorities was and still is an act that requires courage. A high price has to be paid for that. If we had newspapers or television, then we would try to convince society of these things. Society does not realize that some of the elites have opted for an arrangement with the communists. The battle might take several years, but things have to change. We are convinced that a new Poland cannot be built the way it is being built now. It would mean that what lies in store for us is collapse, the disintegration of the country, a country of the Latin American kind.

[Zyro] What led the Liberal Democratic Congress, which is for achieving a breakthrough in introducing a market economy to nevertheless accept such an arrangement?

[Kaczynski] The liberals began to reach an agreement with the communists in 1987, and that resulted in a certain loosening of economic control over them. What they are now doing is a continuation of that. They did not want to achieve any kind of breakthrough.

[Zyro] Is politics public service, an occupation, or a vocation?

[Kaczynski] It is public service based on a professional knowledge of politics. It is seldom a vocation.

[Zyro] How do you rest?

[Kaczynski] I am busy on Saturdays, and my Sundays are rarely free. I sit at home then. I find a few moments to rest when I travel by car. I listen to music and doze.

[Zyro] What about the cats?

[Kaczynski] ???

[Zyro] You know, the eight cats that GAZETA WYBORCZA wrote about sneeringly?

[Kaczynski] I have one cat now. I looked after homeless cats for a long time, but now my mother does that. Unfortunately, I no longer have the time. However, I would still like to devote time to looking after homeless animals.

Tyminski Discusses Party X Philosophy, Plans

AU1510181391 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 10 Oct 91 pp 1, 6

[Interview with Party X leader Stanislaw Tyminski by Halina Retkowska; place and date not given: "They'll Ruin Poland"]

[Text] [Retkowska] In your press statement, you said that the invalidation of Party X's election list is the handiwork of "those red villains, the Democratic Union." Then, in your letter to President Walesa you wrote about a "violation of the election code and Minister Wieslaw Chrzanowski's devious plot with the No. 1 District Election Commission." That implies that to destroy you, a right-wing minister entered into a conspiracy with a group which not only does he not like, but is also ideologically alien to him.

[Tyminski] It does not matter about me. The point is that because of this vile manipulation, seven million Poles, that is the size of my electorate, have been deprived of representation in the elections. That is a great shame.

[Retkowska] But it was a shame to forge signatures?

[Tyminski] Look, 145 signatures were questioned out of at least 100,000 that Party X has collected to date, even though I did not need to present so many signatures. In any case, the Warsaw group that collected signatures noticed the false signatures fairly quickly and crossed out over 2,400 signatures on its own initiative. Finally, we submitted 6,500 signatures to the District Election Commission. Of this number, 5,500 were verified. There was not enough time to verify the rest. I think the entire affair has worked out to the Democratic Union's advantage.

[Retkowska] What does the Union stand to gain from it?

[Tyminski] Thanks to me, the Union suffered a big defeat in the presidential election, and now they are getting their revenge because I am still a danger to them. At the beginning of September they began to demand the verification of the signatures collected by every party taking part in the election.

[Retkowska] It looks like they were right to do so, because several cases of forgery were determined.

[Tyminski] But the red villains were particularly keen to check the signatures in those districts where Party X was registered. For example, in Poznan they reported us to the State Election Commission. I know about that from Judge Mieczyslaw Bareja from the No. 1 Election Commission in Warsaw. He is the one who handed me a paper declaring that our party's signatures in that district were invalid. To add insult to injury, he warned me not to appeal to the voivodship court because he has friends there who would simply uphold his decision. He was right about that. The voivodship court did reject our appeal of course, and the Constitutional Tribunal confirmed that court's ruling. So I turned to the president for help. He promised he would see to it that the law was enforced, but he never did. We did not expect any mercy or favors, merely justice. But it turns out that asking for justice in Poland is wishful thinking. The strong Jewish minority centered on Tadeusz Mazowiecki sees to that. I mean members of his former government and journalists from GAZETA WYBORCZA and TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, people like Michnik, Geremek, Kuron...

[Retkowska] Yet you become angry when people call you an anti-semite. You are!

[Tyminski] Please do not drag me into racism. All I said was that this is a group of Jewish descent, because it certainly is. They are neither Chinese, nor Irish, nor Ukrainian. I am a grown man, and I am capable of using words in their proper context, without insinuations. These people are trying to cling to power at all costs, and they are being helped by expatriates like Zbigniew Brzezinski.

[Retkowska] Do you know that your party is considered by many to be neofascist?

[Tyminski] That is what Adam Michnik calls us. To him, every Polish patriot is a fascist. The World Jewish Congress bestowed on Michnik the accolade "Jew of the Year." I think someone bearing that title should realize what fascism means to a Pole.

[Retkowska] In that case, why are people from the National Party, sworn anti-semites, rushing to join your party?

[Tyminski] That is a disgraceful thing to say! Party X has no contacts with that party. We do not trust it because they might also have connections with the Mazowiecki group.

[Retkowska] The principle of leadership you advocate, the idea of the individual being above the masses, the cult of strength...has all that really got nothing to do with fascism?

[Tyminski] Your questions are scandalous! What individual above the masses? What idea of leadership? As a party, we are in favor of a parliamentary system.

[Retkowska] Three weeks ago a colleague of mine phoned the Party X election bureau for information about your socioeconomic program. He was given short shrift. You refused to answer any of his questions.

[Tyminski] The actual election campaign was not supposed to begin until we had been granted an uncensored election slot on radio and television, to prevent anyone from stealing our political and economic thoughts.

[Retkowska] Experts consider your party to be right-wing. They also say that it is nationalist, unlike European right-wing parties, which are conservative. The Polish right wing several decades ago was also nationalist.

[Tyminski] My party is center-left. I would have to be crazy to promote a right-wing program in the current situation in Poland. I might do so in the future, but not for 10 or 20 years. That is the amount of time necessary to separate us both from communism and from the crazy capitalism introduced by Balcerowicz. At the moment there are two many victims of both systems in Poland.

[Retkowska] That sounds odd coming from the lips of the chairman of the Canadian Libertarian Party. After all, a true libertarian rejects state interventionism. He is not interested in helpless paupers. He is only interested in entrepreneurs.

[Tyminski] I have not been a member of the Libertarian Party for at least a year.

[Retkowska] One can pretend one has changed one's views, but the pretense shows through in any case. The ultra-conservative Janusz Korwin-Mikke has suggested that you are merely pretending to have changed your views. He said: "Tyminski thought he had to become president, and for this purpose he abandoned ideology. The views he began to express were not the ones he considered to be correct, but the ones he thought the electorate wanted to hear."

[Tyminski] Korwin-Mikke is imitating American conservatives, but it is senseless to do so. Capitalism has existed in the United States for a long time, but in Poland it is necessary to create it. I once asked Mr. Korwin-Mikke what he intends to do about the unemployed. He either did not have a clue, or he did not want to answer.

[Retkowska] You have also not answered the question why the Poles should believe that you have turned into a benign person overnight.

[Tyminski] I belonged to the Libertarian Party in Canada because the situation there had become extreme. I was paying 85 percent income tax. That was an absurdity. In such a situation a man has no advantage from his work, nor job satisfaction, nor personal freedom, which depends on a freedom of money, not on empty political slogans like in our country. Therefore, my work in the Canadian party was aimed at reducing those idiotic taxes and thus the state's caretaker function. But I repeat, it will not be possible to implement such a program in Poland for 10 or 20 years. Right now, unless we set social security mechanisms in motion, we will have an uprising.

[Retkowska] Does that mean you want to suspend the Balcerowicz plan, which calls for a free market?

[Tyminski] You are the one who said he wants to create a free market, but facts show that this plan is designed to ruin the country. In fact, the gentlemen behind the plan want to create their own banking and police system in Poland and are doing so already, in the shape of banks like the Chase Bank, headed by Mr. Merkel; the Prosper Bank headed by Mrs. Lisiecka-Krinz; and the Amer Bank, with people from the same milieu. On the other hand, devious troublemakers are being admitted to Poland, so-called masters of the art of quick money, who are carrying out their business dealings here in spite of the law.

[Retkowska] You are considered to be very good at making accusations, but no one ever understands them, and you never have any proof.

[Tyminski] No honest reform to the banking system is being implemented in Poland. That is the best proof. To this very day, Deputy Prime Minister Balcerowicz has not created the legal and fiscal conditions for state and

private enterprises to enjoy an equal status. Yet there are state firms in Poland that, because of their production potential and the enterprising nature of their managements, are capable of paying their employees $30,000 or $35,000 dollars.

[Retkowska] Where are these firms? In Ursus, or Mielec, or perhaps Starachowice?

[Tyminski] I tell you, they are capable of paying such money, but they are prevented from doing so by the tax on supernumerary wages. Mr. Balcerowicz and his people have dreamed up a free market to which one can only gain access by trampling over dead bodies, and in the meantime the so-called privatization game is being played. A mere handful of enterprises have been released for privatization, so that a few rich gentlemen may have enough money to play roulette. There are too many state enterprises for privatization to occur overnight.

[Retkowska] I imagine you are suggesting the same thing as everyone else—Balcerowicz should go, and then Poland will become a land flowing with milk and honey.

[Tyminski] I never promise anyone a paradise overnight, but the only chance for Poland is to alter the legal and fiscal system and decentralize Balcerowicz's power. Only in that way will people be able to participate in the distribution of profits, and with profits in their pockets they will be able to pay taxes to maintain the poorest sector of society.

[Retkowska] Will you return to Poland after the elections?

[Tyminski] Yes. I will return to help Party X, which I consider to be the only opposition party in Poland.

State Enterprise Debt Restructuring Plan Unveiled

LD1710055391 Warsaw PAP in English 1937 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 16—The government Economic Committee (Kerm) gathered Wednesday under the chairmanship of Vice-Premier Leszek Balcerowicz to discuss a programme of restructuring debts of the state-owned enterprises, to be introduced next year. According to a draft plan prepared by the Finance Ministry changes would be introduced in tax regulations allowing outstanding interest on overdue liabilities of state enterprises to be exempted from taxation.

The plan also suggests that the income tax on interest should not be collected whenever conversion of debts into company shares is possible. Such companies would be established on the basis of liquidated state enterprises in keeping with the decisions taken by individual fiscal offices.

Another form of debt restructuring envisaged under the Finance Ministry's plan is the procedure of rescheduling or reducing the debts owed by the enterprises to the state treasury. This procedure would be conditional on a presentation of a feasible recovery plan by the debtor.

And last but not least the plan proposes to reduce outstanding tax liabilities of the indebted enterprise by sums owed to it by budget-financed units. According to the ministry's estimates this would diminish the outstanding tax liabilities of state enterprises by about 2.5-3 trillion zlotys (about 272 million dollars).

Stolojan Presents Government Program to Parliament

AU1610135291 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 0722 GMT 16 Oct 91

["Report on the Program, Objectives, and the List of the New Government Until the General Elections" presented by Prime Minister-designate Theodor Stolojan to a joint session of Parliament in Bucharest—live]

[Summary] "Messrs., Presidents, and Parliamentarians: Please permit me to present the report on the objectives of the government, which we are proposing today, up to the general elections. This report incorporates three parts: the preconditions for the activity of the new government, the objectives of the government, and the trust and support for government requests.

"The preconditions for the activity of the new government: The new government was born in a period of important" events and "economic difficulties and will act on the basis of its prerogatives" by "assuming complete responsibility." "The government has been formed with the participation of the representatives of the National Salvation Front, the National Liberal Party, the Romanian Ecologist Movement, and the Romanian Agrarian Democratic Party, something that lends it the nature of a government of national opening. At the same time, I want to inform you that—at the level of some ministries and state secretaries—other political parties will also be represented in the government. The consultations we conducted in the past few days with the political parties have brought to light once again the divergent points of view in connection with the assessment of changes that have occurred in the political opinions of the electorate compared with the situation on 20 May 1990. Such points of view currently" hamper "the basis of cooperation among the political forces in our country with a view to solving Romania's problems at home and abroad. An emergence from this situation will be possible only by holding general elections as soon as possible.

"The government" that is going "to be installed by the Parliament today will be based on the fundamental option of the Romanian people: the continuation of democracy and of the reform in order to implement the market economy in our country. This option is the sole rational alternative for the Romanian nation, proceeding from the profound conviction that political freedom and economic freedom are indivisible. Only democracy and the market economy can relaunch economic growth as the sole way" to "improve the standard of living in Romania. It is encouraging that, during the latest opinion poll on the current political opinions of the Romanian electorate, 81 percent of the people who were interviewed opted for the reform. It must be stressed that 46 percent of the people interviewed believe that the reform has to be accelerated, while 16 percent desire the preservation of the same pace as up to now.

"The government's objectives: At the level of the political activity, the government—through the institutions of the executive power—will protect, consolidate, and develop democratic values in our country. The main objective for the coming period is the organization of free and fair elections. The examination of this problem with the political parties permitted us to draw the conclusion that there is agreement that the elections should take place as soon as possible. Consequently, to meet this objective—the organization of free and fair elections—the joint action of three factors is necessary: the legislative factor—through the adoption of the Constitution—the law of public administration, and the electoral law.

"The political parties" should "intensify" and develop "consultations, supervision, and participation, so that there is the certainty of an election campaign and of free and fair elections. At the same time, the date of the elections will be set together with the political parties." "The government will encourage the attendance of foreign observers at the elections."

"I am taking this opportunity to declare, once again, that should I be confirmed as prime minister by Parliament I will not join any political party during the period I hold office. Similarly, I will not participate in the next elections as an independent candidate or in any other form. This is also a guarantee that I want to convey to Parliament, namely that my entire activity as prime minister will be devoted to achieving the objectives of the government and not to gaining electoral capital. [applause]

"At the economic and social level, the government will continue—without hesitation—the reform to achieve a market economy, while paying the necessary attention to ensuring social protection in accordance with the current possibilities of the national economy and with the need to maintain economic, financial, and monetary stability. We want to affirm very clearly that the current structure of the economy, which is characterized by oversized industrial branches for processing raw materials with energy-intensive technologies and products, and the insufficient development of agriculture and, especially, the lagging behind of services, is the product of two systems: an internal, supercentralized, and dictatorial management system that existed in our country was forced upon the population, based on a low standard of living compared with our economy's potential, and an international economic system, artificially created among the former socialist countries, based on the flow of raw materials and manufactured products," which "hampered technical progress." Thus, "our economy, which still preserves the aforementioned structure, found itself in the domestic and foreign economic imbalance that characterizes transition economies. Such imbalances have to be financed—externally with the financial assistance of the international community and at home" by combatting "inflation to ensure stability" for the benefit of "the economic activity." There "are two undeniable truths: No one abroad is prepared to grant credits or invest in an economy that cannot function except by accumulating, year in and year out, a foreign imbalance because of its low level of competitiveness and the absence of an appropriate mechanism to meet the needs of the market economy. The second

truth is that no country in the world can use noninflationary means for a long period to stop domestic imbalances, without undertaking a structural change in the economy in order to cope with the new conditions imposed by confrontation with the domestic and foreign market." "Hence, the conclusion that we have only one way to go, namely the one of continuing the reform to achieve a market economy. By this we understand not only the consolidation of the institutions and mechanisms of the market economy and the creation of those" that are still needed, "but also the restructuring of the economy," which means "changing its physical structure to permit us" an "effective integration into the European and world economy. Only such an approach to problems will allow us to see positive prospects for the transition process of the Romanian economy, and only this will ensure a basis for dialogue with the international economic community, whose financial assistance" is "essential both for the success of democracy and the market economy in Romania and for the social costs involved in this transition to be tolerated. This is the belief of the government in which you will place your trust.

"Within this framework, the government proposes to achieve specific objectives: first, the finalization and application of measures to complete the institutional framework of the market economy in Romania. One of the main measures in this respect is the unification of the exchange rates of the national currency, the leu. We also need to rapidly eliminate the dual exchange rate system that currently exists in order to progress toward a market economy, and this is determined by the need to eliminate the distortion of the pricing system on which the market economy operates by setting different prices, both artificial, for the same commodity—in U.S. dollars and in other foreign currencies." "We must also achieve the reestablishment of the hard currency balance by specific means of the market economy. Only in this way will Romania be able—in the medium and long term—to cover its imports with its own foreign currency funds while incurring foreign debts that will be a result of the national economy's needs for re-technologization and restructuring and will be completely subject to the growth of the competitiveness of the economy.

"We must stress that in the first eight months of the current year, centralized foreign currency returns totaled $1.1 billion, while costs for imports of raw and other materials and of services totaled $2.3 billion, there being a deficit of $1.2 billion that was financed from loans and other foreign sources."

"The government will reexamine" all "economic and financial instruments with a view to stimulating exports. Obviously, the introduction of a single exchange rate for the leu will increase the general level of prices for imports. This means that all participants in economic and social activity will try to find a way to ensure the balance of both the national economy, the trading companies and corporations, and social protection in accordance with our financial possibilities and the need to ensure economic stability in this period."

"Second, another specific objective is to preserve economic, financial, and monetary stability. Proceeding from the condition that only a stable economic framework can facilitate the relaunching of economic projects and attract foreign resources to Romania, the government will continue to develop those revenue and fiscal policies and—in cooperation with the National Bank of Romania—those monetary and credit policies that will prevent the economy from plunging into uncontrollable imbalance and, first and foremost, into excessive inflation. A better correlation will be achieved between fiscal, credit, and monetary policies. Thus, the main objective in the incomes policy, which will also constitute a new dimension in the development of the labor market, is to simplify the correlation between wages and prices. Individual wage ceilings in state-owned units will be raised, but to prevent further inflationary pressure by an unjustified increase in wage costs, a tax will be levied on the rising total wage fund that will exceed the limit resulting from the funds-wages-prices correlation. That system will be discussed with the trade unions and the employers' organizations.

"In our fiscal policy, we will place stress on urgently formulating the 1992 draft budget and presenting it to Parliament, trying to keep the budget deficit within tolerable limits. We will continue to prepare measures aimed at introducing a value added tax," and "will improve the system of individual income tax." We "will also change the contribution of the various fiscal sources to the formation of budget revenues in keeping with the needs of the market economy and the current trends in this area."

"The government will continue the fiscal policy of giving an impetus to economic enterprises and increasing investments and will pay greater attention to promoting investments in the area of the infrastructure. In cooperation with the National Bank of Romania, the government will ensure that the monetary and credit policy will contribute to channeling financial resources to the economic sectors and enterprises with trade potential. It will also act to unblock financial circuits and to prevent access to the resources of those economic enterprises that are trying—by such means—to delay the start of the restructuring process."

Third, we have "to continue structural reforms. In the first place, we are talking about the development of the private sector with its four dimensions: accelerating the process of returning land to the farmers and to others who are entitled to land in conformity with the provisions of the law. There are more than 6.3 million applications, while the arable area that will be returned represents approximately 8 million hectares of arable land, that is, 82 percent of the arable land; the sale of approximately 2 million dwellings built with state funds—by the end of August 419,000 dwellings had been sold, and there are applications for another 623,000 dwellings; encouragement of small businesses—at this point there are approximately 54,000 trading companies

with private capital and about 153,000 family associations and independent businessmen; and beginning to privatize trading companies with state-owned nominal capital, the number of which amounts to almost 6,000.

"In the second place, we want to continue the restructuring of the banking sectors, so that it will be able to fulfill functions characterizing the market economy. In the third place, the government will continue structural reforms begun in other sectors of activity, such as, for instance: justice, health, education, culture, environmental protection, and administration by ensuring the necessary resources in accordance with the possibilities of our society. The continuation of the reform to implement the market economy is indissolubly linked to the actions taken by the government to eliminate the structures that are proving to hamper reform. It is obvious to all of us that, in the coming period, the government will be confronted with problems of coping with serious imbalances associated with the beginning of the winter. First and foremost, we have to ensure energy and supplies, especially certain foodstuffs. The evaluation of the necessary external resources for energy in the last quarter of 1991 and the first quarter of 1992 totals $1.8 billion, and those for agriculture, including the people's supplies in the fourth quarter of 1991 and the first and second quarters of 1992, totals $1.3 billion."

"The shortage of hard currency resources throughout this year, the delay in finalizing some foreign financial arrangements, and the halt or delay in completing certain international understandings and contracts due to events last month led to the current situation, whereby we have the lowest ever stocks of fuel oil before winter—that is some 31 percent of the stocks we had in the corresponding period last year—which can have an unfavorable impact on ensuring heat and electrical power. Likewise, we have insufficient fuel resources to carry out agricultural activities. Therefore, the government plans to identify all possible resources to correct and normalize the situation; this objective cannot be achieved without prompt and substantial foreign aid. However, we want to clearly emphasize that, if no new resources can be found, the only conceivable solution for coming through this winter is to halt the activity of some productive units.

"The government will ensure the implementation of the program of public winter supplies throughout the winter, including through imports of foodstuffs that we already know will not be produced in sufficient quantities domestically. In this respect, we point out that if certain imports cannot be ensured, steps will be taken to facilitate the purchase of basic foodstuffs by the population, even if some of these basic foodstuffs will have to be temporarily rationed, as is the case now with sugar and edible oil.

"The government will pay due attention to social security, proceeding from the following realities: Nobody is going to carry for us the social burden of the transition to the market economy, and one should not ignore this burden. Social protection will mainly focus on the most disadvantaged groups of people in the process of transition—the unemployed, elderly, (?the handicapped), youth." This protection "relies on society's potential" at any given stage. Resorting to foreign resources only "delays for a while the social cost of transition," which is "reasonable only to the extent to which these resources are mainly used for the recovery of economic growth."

"The government intends to examine—together with the trade unions, employers' organizations, and other organizations concerned and authorized to deal with social security matters—relevant measures that have to be implemented by the general elections." In this connection, "apart from the measures already emphasized regarding the policy of incomes, the analysis of the wages-prices correlation, and public winter supplies of basic products," the government will also strive to: "maintain an adequate ratio between the development of pensions and salaries; keep unchanged the prices of electricity, heating fuel for the population, bread, sugar, edible oil, butter, milk," and other products and services in the period ahead; maintain state-owned housing rents unchanged; and develop a health care program, "including the application of a $150 million foreign loan for health."

The government "will continue to give a firm riposte to corruption, profiteering, and any other illegal phenomena." [applause]

"The government will act to strengthen the country's defense capability," to ensure the "sovereignty, independence, and territorial unity and integrity of Romania," as well as a "climate of quiet and security to further consolidate democracy" in Romania.

The forthcoming period "will be difficult, due to serious economic problems." The government "can only fulfill its targets by relying on internal and external credibility." For this, "we ask for the support of the Parliament, political parties, the people, trade unions, employers' organizations, and professional and cultural organizations. The alternative to mistrust and lack of internal support is the promotion of the idea that Romania is ungovernable, an idea directed against the Romanian state and its unity. [applause] We also appeal to the international community to speedily resume and expand external commercial and financial relations with our country at this difficult time for us. The Romanian Government is determined to observe its external commitments and to continue its foreign policy of wide opening. We are convinced that, by our actions, we can prove to the whole world that it may rely upon Romania to promote the values of democracy and the market economy." [applause]

"I have enjoyed the support of the political parties with which I have conducted a constant dialogue during the past few days. These consultations once again permitted me to draw the conclusion that the general elections, which should be held as soon as possible, constitute one of the most important solutions for easing tensions."

Views Elections, Energy Supplies

AU1610185891 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Interview with Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan by unidentified reporter in Bucharest on 16 October—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] We would like you, Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan—for the Radio Romania Current Events program—to make a short statement at the beginning of your endeavor.

[Stolojan] I am happy that Parliament agreed—almost in (?totality), with the exception of two votes—with the program presented by the proposed government, a program which, in my opinion, contains some very clear targets, which we will focus on in this period.

[Reporter] The debates emphasized certain ideas regarding the priorities that the government should address in the near future. Should it concentrate first on the elections, or first on the economy? What is your opinion about these priorities, and what are your options?

[Stolojan] You see, the elections are not something that depend exclusively on the government. It is true that the government plays a great part in organizing the elections and taking all steps to ensure that they are free and correct. As I said in my report, however, all forces must participate in the elections. Hence, the legislative branch should speed up the procedure for adopting the constitution, the law on local administration, and the electoral law. At the same time, a consensus must be reached with the political parties, because there are still different opinions on the sequence of elections—local or general ones first, and so forth. So, there are quite a few problems. We will have to tackle them all.

Regarding economic priorities, you must realize that they are easily identifiable. We are not dealing with something abstract here. The situation obliges you to see, or pinpoints the priorities for you. For instance, the fact that we do not have the necessary energy supplies for the winter is a priority for us. We do not have to look much farther for one.

[Reporter] Thank you very much. We wish you success.

Senate Endorses Rejected Ministers, Cabinet

AU1710110791

[Editorial Report] Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian at 1030 GMT on 16 October establishes its direct link with the Omnia Hall in Bucharest, where a reporter says that the Senate has just ended a special plenary session to complete the list of the cabinet led by Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan. The reporter says that Prime Minister Stolojan addressed the session and "reiterated his two proposals for the positions of minister of interior and minister of culture, Messrs. Victor Babiuc and Ludovic Spiess, who were turned down yesterday."

According to the reporter, Stolojan pleaded for his nominations to be accepted, emphasizing the "team character" of the new cabinet and the "unity between the prime minister and the formula of the government team reached after 13 days of consultations with all political parties." The correspondent says that after a short break, the leaders of the three parliamentary groups in the Senate took the floor and said that "Prime Minister Stolojan's request is justified and in accordance with the rules of parliamentary democracy" and that, hence, they agreed that the two nominees be submitted to a vote by the Senate.

The relay continues with a recording of the results of the vote announced by Senator Doru Taracila:

"Report on results of the vote for the completion of the Romanian Government. A count of the votes on completing the Romanian Government reveals the following: Total number of voters—94; cast votes—93; canceled votes—1.

"The results of the ballot for each nominee is as follows: Victor Babiuc—93 votes cast; 73 votes for, 20 against; Ludovic Spiess—93 votes cast; 75 votes for, 18 against.

"In view of the fact that Mr. Victor Babiuc, proposed for the position as minister of the interior, and Ludovic Spiess obtained the required number of votes, in excess of the minimum of 55 votes, Romania's Senate endorses the respective proposal on completing the composition of Romania's Government.

"Bucharest, 17 October 1991. Signed by the Senate's Standing Bureau." [applause]

After the vote, Senate President Alexandru Barladeanu invites Prime Minister Stolojan to say a few words. A recording of Stolojan's brief speech follows: "Mr. President, Messrs. Senators, I have no words to tell you how happy I am about the trust you have once more placed in us, and again I assure you that, as I said to the joint session in Parliament yesterday, I will strive so that you will not be ashamed of this trust. Thank you."

The correspondent concludes his relay from the Senate with the announcement that "the members of Romania's Senate are on their way to Parliament Hall on Metropolitan Hill to participate, along with their parliamentary colleagues in the Deputies' Assembly, in a joint session on the situation in Covasna and Harghita Counties."

The relay ends at 1037 GMT.

Biographies of New Cabinet Members Reported

AU1610184191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0949 GMT 16 Oct 91

["Parliamentary Diary—The Government Introduces Itself—List of the New Government"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 16/10/91—Prime Minister-designate Theodor Stolojan set forth to the Romanian Parliament met in its 16 October session the following list of the Romanian Government:

Prime Minister—Theodor Dumitru Stolojan—He is 47 years old and was born in Tirgoviste on October 24, 1943. He is a graduate of the Academy of Economic Studies in Bucharest, the Faculty of Finance, Credit and Accountancy. He became a doctor of economic sciences in 1980. Over 1966-1972 he worked as an economist in units of the Ministry of Food Industry—since 1972—an economist in the Ministry of Finance— the State Budget Directorate, a head of office, an assistant director and a director in the State Budget Directorate and the Hard Currency Directorate of the Ministry of Finance. In 1988 he was promoted to the office of inspector general in the State Income Directorate. On December 29, 1989 he was appointed first deputy minister of finance. Over 1974-1980 he was an associate assistant professor at the Academy of Economic Studies. He published specialty studies and works on public finance, macroeconomy, etc. He is a member of the International Institute of Public Finance in Saarbruecken, Germany, and a graduate of the Public Finance Seminar organized by the International Monetary Fund in 1982. He was a minister of finance until April 29, 1991. On May 14, 1991 he was appointed chairman of the National Privatisation Agency. On October 1, 1991, he was designated prime minister.

Minister of Foreign Affairs—Adrian Nastase

Born in Bucharest, on June 22, 1950.

A graduate of the Law School, in 1976, and of sociology in 1978 from the Bucharest University.

A doctor of the Bucharest University in 1987.

He worked as a researcher with the Bucharest Juridical Research Institute, in the domain of international public law over 1974-1990. Deputy chairman of the Romanian Association of International Law and International Relations (ADIRI) and expert in diplomatic immunities with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. As for the teaching activity, he gave a course of international commercial law at the Staff Training Centre under the Ministry of Foreign Trade and a course of international public law at the Academy of Economics.

He was a guest researcher at the International Peace Research Institute in Oslo, at the Norwegian Institute of International Relations, and was also study director at the International Institute for Human Rights in Strasbourg, a member of the Council of the International Association of Peace Research, deputy chairman of the Association of Human Rights Professors and Researchers, a member of the French Society of International Law, and associate member of the International Institute of Human Rights.

He published more than 90 scientific papers in various Romanian and foreign reviews and presented over 100 studies and papers abroad.

He was foreign minister in the previous cabinet.

National Defense Minister—Constantin Nicolae Spiroiu

He was born in Bucharest on July 6, 1936.

He graduated from the Academy of Military Engineering, the Department for Tank Engineers, and from a postgraduate course in strategy and operative. 1991 he was appointed minister of national defence.

He has two children.

Minister of Justice—Mircea Ionescu-Quintus

Nominated by the National Liberal Party [PNL].

Born on March 18, 1917.

A graduate from the Bucharest Faculty of Law in 1938.

A lawyer over 1940-1987 with the Prahova Bar.

A member of the National Liberal Party since 1945 and deputy chairman of the party since 1990.

A war veteran and former political detainee.

He was elected Prahova deputy for the PNL in the May 1990 elections, and then deputy speaker of the Assembly of Deputies.

A member of the Writers' Union of Romania and author of books of poems and prose.

Married, with a child.

Minister of the Interior—Victor Babiuc

Nominated by the National Salvation Front.

He was born in the commune of Rachiti, Botosani County, on April 3, 1938.

He graduated from the Law School in Bucharest in 1958 and from a postgraduate course in the Law of the Sea in 1979. In 1979 he got a degree as a doctor of law.

He was a legal adviser and a judge in Brasov, a legal adviser with the Foreign Trade Ministry and a scientific researcher at the World Economics Institute over 1977-1990.

He was appointed minister of justice in June 1990.

He published more than 100 works on economic law and the law of international trade.

He is married and has a child.

Minister of Economy and Finance—George Danielescu

Nominated by the National Liberal Party.

He was born in Bucharest on September 9, 1949.

He graduated from the Trade Faculty of the Academy of Economic Studies in 1977, specializing in marketing.

He worked as an analyst at the Centre of Information Sciences under the Ministry of Finance over 1977-1981, as a scientific researcher at the Central Institute for Economic Research over 1981-1988 and as an economist and head of department in the General Directorate of the Treasury under the Ministry of Finance to date.

He published studies on economic and financial questions in specialty magazines in this country.

He is married and the father of two.

Minister of Labour and Social Security—Dan Mircea Popescu

Proposed by the National Salvation Front.

Born on October 6, 1950, in Bucharest.

A graduate, in 1975, from the Bucharest Faculty of Law. A doctor and professor at the Bucharest University.

Starting 1975, he was legal adviser then scientific researcher with the Bucharest Institute of Politics, and reader with the international relations chair of the Bucharest Academy of Social- Political Studies.

After December 1989, he was appointed expert with the Foreign Policy Commission of the National Salvation Front Council, being subsequently elected on the Provisional National Unity Council.

In 1990 he was appointed presidential adviser on home policy.

In April 1991 he was appointed minister of state for the quality of life and social security.

The National Salvation Front elected him at its Second National Convention on the party's Steering Board.

Dan Mircea Popescu is author of specialty books and studies on politics.

Father of a child.

Minister of Trade and Tourism—Constantin Fota

He was born in Isalnita, Dolj County, on June 13, 1935.

He graduated from the Foreign Trade Faculty in Bucharest in 1960. He also graduated from a course in GATT commercial policy and the promotion of trade in Geneva.

In 1977 he got a doctor's degree in international economic relations.

He worked as an economist in the Trade Chamber, a head of department in the Institute for International Economic Studies, a director in the Foreign Trade Ministry and then, over 1982-1990, as an economist and marketing manager of the [word indistinct] he was vice-president of the Romanian Marketing Association.

He published numerous scientific works and contributed to speciality studies printed in this country and abroad.

He is married and a father of three.

Minister of Industry—Dan Constantinescu

Born on March 21, 1953 in Bucharest.

He graduated from the Bucharest Faculty of Automation in 1977, the Faculty of Industry Economics, and the Academy of Economics in 1983, as well as the foreign trade postgraduate course. He also attended eight courses of technical development.

Over 1977-1989 he worked as engineer, chief engineer and then head of department with the "Optica Romana" ["Romanian Optics"] Enterprise in Bucharest.

After November 1990 he was deputy director, then director of the Privatization Department of the Ministry of Resources and Industry.

In February 1991 he was appointed secretary of state with the Ministry of Industry.

Dan Constantinescu published scientific works and articles in speciality magazines in Romania.

Married, with a child.

Minister of Agriculture and Food Industry—Petru Marculescu

Nominated by the Agrarian Democratic Party of Romania.

19 June 1943 in Bucharest graduated in 1967 from the Faculty of Agriculture of Bucharest's "Nicolae Balcescu" Institute of Agronomics and in 1976 from the postgraduate courses in agricultural economics of the Academy of Economics.

Chief engineer of several farms in Ialomita and Calarasi Counties. Over 1981-1991 deputy manager for plant production in Calarasi County, manager of AGROSEM [expansion unknown] Bucharest and director in charge of the State Inspection and Control Department of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture.

In July 1991 he has been appointed minister.

Married, one child.

Minister of Transport—Traian Basescu

Born 4 November 1951 at Basarabi, Constanta County, graduate of "Mircea Cel Batrin" ["Mircea the Old"] Navy Institute, the Merchant Navy Faculty a merchant navy officer and eventually a master mariner with NAVROM [Romanian Navigation Company]. Head of the NAVROM Trade Office at Antwerp over 1989-1991 chief inspector of Merchant Navy and eventually head of Naval Transport at the Ministry of Transport Minister of Transport since April 1991. Married and a father of two children.

Minister of Communications—Andrei Chirica

Born 14 June 1939 at Ploiesti; graduated in 1961 from Bucharest's Faculty of Electronics and Telecommunications; over 1961-1968 as an engineer with the Radio and Television division he took part in the assembly in place of the first transmission radio relays in our country. Also, as a chief engineer with the General Department of Posts and Telecommunications from 1968 to 1984 and eventually as a deputy director-general in charge of telecommunications research and information processing minister of telecommunications since June 1990 author of speciality works published in this country and abroad attended international telecommunications union conferences. Married, childless.

Minister of Public Works and Physical Planning—Dan Nicolae

Nominated by the National Salvation Front [FSN].

Born on April 5, 1945, in Bucharest.

A graduate from the Institute of Architecture. A designing architect in Craiova until 1978.

A technical manager of the Dolj County Design Institute over 1978-1979 and chief architect of Dolj County over 1980-1989.

Until the formation of the Senate elected on May 20, 1990 he was deputy, mayor of the county, and then FSN senator.

Married, with two children.

Minister of Ecology—Marcian Bleahu

Nominated by the Ecology Movement of Romania.

Born 14 March 1924 at Brasov; graduated from the University of Bucharest, Natural Sciences and Geography Departments of the Faculty of Sciences. Doctorship in sciences in 1974. Over 1949-1961 he taught in higher schools but was later removed on ideological grounds. Currently, professor and dean of the Faculty of Natural Sciences at the Bucharest Ecology University.

After 1949 he held leading positions at the Geology and Geophysics Institute including that of director organised and headed several geological surveys for the Danube-Black Sea Canal and the Bucharest underground, and contributed to the organisation of the National Museum of Geology recipient of the "Gheorghe Murgoci" and "Grigore Cobalcescu" prizes of the Romanian Academy, and of the scientific merit. Honorary member of the Geneva Society of Sciences, member of the Board of Management of the International Centre for the Protection of the Environment in Budapest, and a fellow of various scientific societies in the United States, Italy, France and Austria. Visiting professorship at the Universities of Greifswald, Geneva, and Basel.

Author of 22 books, 120 scientific papers and over 260 articles and scientific film scripts. In January 1990 he became a member and eventually vice-chairman of Romania's Ecology Movement (MER).

On 20 May 1990 he was elected to the upper house of Parliament where he represents Romania's Ecology Movement. Married, childless.

Minister of Science and Education—Mihai Golu

Nominated by the National Salvation Front.

Born on March 4, 1934, in Bumbesti Commune, Gorj County.

A graduate from the Psychology Faculty, he carried on activity as psychologist and professor with the Bucharest University.

He ran as independent candidate on the National Salvation Front ticket in the May 20, 1990 elections, and was elected deputy.

He published numerous scientific papers and articles at home and abroad.

Married, with two children.

Minister of Culture—Ludovic Spiess

Born on May 13, 1938, in Cluj Municipality.

After high school attended in Romania, he continued his education abroad, on an Italian scholarship in Milan, and took then brushing up courses in Munich.

He made an early debut in a prodigious artistic career, standing out as an exceptional operatic singer.

Greatly appreciated and distinguished with numerous artistic prizes at home and abroad, he had prestigious radio and TV shows, and fine collaboration with recording houses at home and abroad.

Married, with one child.

Minister of Health—Mircea Maiorescu

Born on May 23, 1926, in Bucharest.

A graduate from the Bucharest Faculty of Pediatrics, and from specialization courses in France, Hungary and

Germany. A medical doctor since 1959, a member of the European Association or heart pediatricians since 1983 and full member of the Academy of Medical Sciences since 1991.

He carried on teaching activity since 1956 with the Bucharest Institute of Medicine and Pharmacy, a professor since 1974. Over 1978-1984 he was director of the Mother and Child Protection Institute. He is currently professor with the Marie Curie Pediatrics Clinic under the Bucharest University of Medicine.

He participated in numerous specialty international congresses and wrote over 300 works, including 13 published abroad.

Married, with two children.

Minister of Youth Affairs and Sports—Ioan Moldovan

Nominated by the National Salvation Front.

Born on March 10, 1943, in Chiuza Commune, Bistrita Nasaud County.

A graduate from the Law School.

He was inspector with the Labour Department of Salaj County, prosecutor with the Prosecutor's Office of the same county. After the revolution, he was secretary of National Salvation Front Council of Salaj and then deputy chairman of the FSN Steering Council. He was elected FSN deputy on May 20, 1990.

Married, with two children.

Minister of Budget, State Revenue and Financial Control—Florian Bercea

Born on 28 December, 1937, at Tinad, Bihor County, he graduated from the Academy of Economic Studies, Department of Finance, Credit and Accountancy, as an economist and took his doctor's degree in economics in 1971. A member of the Academy's academic staff.

Between December 1990 and April 1991 he performed as secretary of state at the Department of Taxes and Revenues of the Ministry of Finance. He is vice-governor for Romania in the IMF Council of Governors and governor for Romania in the EBRD [European Bank for Reconstruction and Development] Council of Governors.

Mr. Florian Bercea published papers and wrote courses of lectures for finance students.

He is married, with one child.

Minister for Relations With Parliament—Ion Aurel Stoica

Nominated by the National Salvation Front.

Born on 6 May, 1943 at Saulia De Campie, Mures County, 1966 graduate of the Faculty of Mechanics, bearer of a doctor's degree in "mechanisms and tribophysics," he had been a member of the Cluj-Napoca Polytechnical Institute since graduation.

He acted as minister of machine-building in the Provisional Government and as state minister in charge of the living standard and social welfare in the first post-election government. He was eventually replaced but was retained in the cabinet as minister without portfolio.

In April, 1991 he was elected executive president of the National Salvation Front.

He is the author of several speciality books and of numerous essays on philosophy and the history of science.

Married, with one child.

State Secretary at the Ministry of Education and Science, Member of the Government—Emil Tokacs

Nominated by the National Liberal Party.

Born on 23 December 1933, in Bucharest.

Graduated from the Polytechnical Institute in Bucharest in 1956 and got his doctor's degree in technical sciences in 1971.

Worked as a site engineer in 1957-58 and served a political sentence between 1958 and 1963. Since 1964 he worked as academic in the higher education system and in January 1990 was elected dean of the Faculty of Oilfield Equipment, Ploiesti.

Mr. Tokacs has conducted studies in the theory of mechanics, printed in publications of the Romanian Academy and abroad and wrote five speciality books, of which one was translated in the United States.

Married, with two children.

Nastase on Foreign Policy, Next Foreign Minister

AU1610135591 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL 11 Oct 91 p 6

[Interview with Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase by unidentified journalist; place and date not given—"The Perennial National Interests Impose Certain Parameters of External Behavior"]

[Text] [CURIERUL NATIONAL] How do you feel as a member of a resigning government?

[Nastase] Better.

[CURIERUL NATIONAL] What important achievements do you believe you are leaving behind?

[Nastase] I would like to start by presenting certain aspects of the internal organization of our ministry. Together with my assistants, we tried to set up a compartmental structure, in line with the changes that have occurred in Europe and throughout the world since

1989, as well as in accordance with Romania's current and future prospects. I believe that the criteria that marked the organization of the (communist) Foreign Ministry have been completely eliminated. At the same time, a number of new compartments have been established. Some of them were "imposed by life." I can mention, for example, the Directorate for the Republic of Moldova. There are others, like the Directorate for Political Planning—which have equivalents in similar ministries in most of the countries of the world but is a "first" in the history of our ministry—sprang from the need to make a prospective approach to Romanian foreign policy and to its increasingly "kaleidoscopic" context and development.

One achievement that, if you allow me, I could say that I am even proud of is the establishment of the Consultative Council of the Foreign Ministry. It represented an "avant la lettre" [advance action] of what is now being attempted on a broader, government scale, that is, a certain structure of national openness, taking into account that this council includes representatives of the major political institutions, parliamentary opposition parties, and experts in the field of international relations. In establishing this council, we took into account the fact that, under conditions of a natural alternative to power—a reality that we are witnessing in an incipient form today—such an organizational formula may be the guarantee for the continuity of Romanian foreign policy. I should not go on here because it is very clear to all responsible political forces in Romania that perennial national interests inevitably impose certain parameters of foreign behavior that cannot fluctuate from one government team to another or from one parliamentary majority to another.

I and my co-workers inherited a certain openness that was introduced by my predecessor, who came to office after the December revolution. I hope that, in turn, my successor will discover that on taking over the position, he will have a certain capital. Even if this capital is not very "valuable," it has at least not been "devalued."

In this connection, I do not intend to set down a list of achievements attained by Romanian foreign policy with my assistance in the past 15 months. I would only mention that we made an effort to transform our diplomatic activity into a useful vehicle in the process of democratization of Romanian society and promoting economic reform. Sometimes, although perhaps not always, we even made diplomatic activity a catalytic factor.

Speaking in geographical terms, the visits I paid to Japan at the end of last summer, and the more recent one to the United States, mark the broad area of dialogue in which we are engaged with the most significant protagonists in the international arena, whose understanding and support are vital for the progress of our domestic transition process. The large number of meetings and exchange of views that I had on the occasion of the opening of the 46th United Nations General Assembly, show in general the steps taken by Romanian diplomatic activity in the past 20 months. And perhaps not least, they show how there has been an increase in the favorable attitude toward Romania.

And finally, also as an example, I would recall the "tour de force" achieved on 22 August 1991, when the balance of forces in the USSR was not very clearly in favor of the supporters of change. The fact that on that day I held talks with the president and the prime minister of France, the NATO secretary general, the president of the Commission of European Communities, and the foreign ministers of the Netherlands and Belgium reflected, I believe, not only our political wish to be partners in the process of establishing a new Europe but also reflected the interest of West European countries and the major European and Euro-Atlantic institutions in irreversibly involving our country in this process.

There is no doubt that after local and general elections there will be a substantial increase in dialogue and cooperation but, above all, the political and economic support granted to Romania—the obtaining of which was the core of all our discussions, our discussions not being motivated by certain partisan interests but by the awareness of the fact that it was difficult or even impossible to achieve stability for Romania in any other way. Then we will have more spectacular successes.

I hope that the pretty large number of young people who in the past 15 months have left for diplomatic specialization courses in countries with a long democratic tradition will also contribute to its implementation and consolidation.

[CURIERUL NATIONAL] What about unsolved problems? And what about possible mistakes for which you reproach yourself?

[Nastase] I do not want to make you listen to my former lectures on this issue. Because in the dialogue between Adrian Nastase, the current Romanian foreign minister, and Adrian Nastase, the individual, the dissatisfaction of the latter was always greater than the satisfaction of the former.

This also happened because on foreign policy issues the former did not always know or—on various occasions—could not provide adequate solutions to the trouble and dissatisfaction of his fellow citizens and because, by its very nature, diplomatic activity is "open-ended work." And not only to interpretations [sentence as published].

Even as I answer your question, the world's news agencies are reporting events that could modify—substantially or partially—information on the situation in the European arena and/or the international arena. Therefore, in diplomatic activity, one cannot draw a line and make an "updated" balance sheet of all the problems that have or have not been solved.

The large number of actors moving in the world arena interact with one another and with the variation of their immediate interests and priorities, but mainly the alert dynamics of the relationship between them, which is

specific to the current period of substantial reestablishment of the international order, constantly creates "urgent issues" and "claims" that can only, with difficulty, be dealt with at the appropriate time. Therefore, if I were to attempt to list the "white spots" on the Romanian foreign policy map that I had the opportunity to coordinate since 28 June 1990, there would be many voices to remark—not without reason—that the list is incomplete. I leave it to the public to exhaust their identification. And here, without hesitation, I assume my share of responsibility for the nonfulfillment of the mandate bestowed on me, a mandate for which now, at the end, I wish to thank all my colleagues and co-workers again.

Among the major sources of self-dissatisfaction, I would cite the fact that sometimes, caught in the whirl of events—and they followed each other with confusing speed—I did not give enough attention to the consolidation of the ground gained in a certain area or in a certain relation. In diplomatic activity, there is no "definitive acquisition" precisely for the reason I mentioned before. Therefore, in conclusion, a certain position that is favorable for Romania should be gained and regained daily. This implies work and more work and imaginative effort. However, it differs from artistic creation; in diplomatic activity the creation has to be based on a very strong sense of reality. Reverie is not a successful procedure in foreign policy. And foreign policy is not a new literary genre. Even if, as one can see here and there, it sometimes stirs a certain agitation for a while and creates for its supporters a sensation of "success." When the fate of a few million people is at stake, reverie means irresponsibility. However, I hope that despite all my mistakes—more or less personal or excusable ones—I have not fallen into such a trap.

[CURIERUL NATIONAL] Whom could you envisage as your successor?

[Nastase] Somebody who wishes to continue some of the things that I have started.

[CURIERUL NATIONAL] What will you do after the new government is confirmed?

[Nastase] For a few weeks, I will read thrillers. Then, I will return to my "first love," that is, the study of international law. And I will avoid political life.

Senate Asks for UDMR Position on Szeklers Issue

AU1510092991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1940 GMT 14 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 14/10/1991—The Szeklers' claims to territorial autonomy and the statements on this topic of several political parties and organisations elicited reactions from 16 senators who took the floor to define their political stands: Attila Verestoy (UDMR) [Democratic Union of Magyars in Romania], FSN [National Salvation Front] group leader Vasile Vacaru, PNL [National Liberal Party] President and Senate Vice-President Radu Campeanu, Emanoil Cerenescu, Romulus Vulpescu, Silviu Carpinisanu, Gheorghe Dumitrascu, Ioan Rus, Dan Iosif, Mihai Iacobescu (all FSN senators), Senate Vice President Vasile Mois (FSN), Antonie Iorgovan (independent), Senate President Alexandru Barladeanu, Karoly Kiraly (UDMR).

Mr. Attila Verestoy's statement that "the issue of the so-called territorial autonomy of the Szeklers started from the not very adequate wording of the idea of "local autonomy" and that "it represents a handful of radicalists and by no means the whole of the UDMR, the leadership of which clearly dissociates itself from these few" did nothing but increased the tension. All the other speakers condemned in vigorous terms the attempts of a small group in this country to hold a referendum for the autonomy of a part of Romania's national territory. The claim was termed as a new attempt at the country's national integrity, a brazen illegal act, a defiant attack against constitutional norms, an insolent disregard of the Romanian state's unity, sovereignty and independence. All the speakers considered the UDMR declaration as confused and unsatisfactory, by which the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania "dissociates itself" from the separatist movements without condemning them .

Consequently, the UDMR senators were requested to express their position of disapproval publicly in clear-cut and unequivocal terms and to openly state their loyalty to the Romanian national unitary state. Several FSN senators brought to the audience's attention a number of what they called "offending and provoking" statements made by UDMR senator Geza Szocs and Pastor Laszlo Tokes about the Romanian people and demanded that the Romanian Intelligence Service and the Ministry of the Interior should present reports on the two UDMR representatives' anti-Romanian activities.

Senator Romulus Vulpescu qualified the activity of this political party as revanchist and violently extremist and demanded that it be outlawed. In the same context, the chief of the Constitution Drafting Committee, Antonie Iorgovan, voiced the opinion that these unacceptable claims have their roots in the excessive rights granted to the Hungarian minority through the constitution and in the constant disregard by the UDMR of the accords reached.

The Senate's stormy sitting of Monday, 14 October ended with the resolution that the UDMR present, in a future sitting, its position to all the accusations brought against it.

In the latter half of the sitting, the senators of all parties represented in Parliament, UDMR included, continued debates on the bill on local and county public administration.

Deputies Adopt Statement

AU1510132091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1151 GMT 15 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 15/10/1991—Tuesday, October 15, the plenum of the Assembly of Deputies met in a brief session to adopt a statement on the actions of Romanian citizens of Hungarian nationality in Transylvania pursuing the territorial autonomy of the Covasna and Harghita Counties.

After Mr. Mircea Ionescu-Quintus read the draft statement agreed upon with the leaders of the parliamentarian groups in the Assembly of Deputies the text was endorsed with a majority of votes (seven votes against and 16 abstentions).

The Assembly of Deputies was worried and deeply concerned to learn about the stated intentions of a group of Romanian citizens of Hungarian nationality in Covasna and Harghita Counties, who call themselves "the political group of the Hungarian Democratic Union [UDMR] in the Szeklers' land" to initiate actions pursuing the proclamation of the territorial autonomy of that land, the adopted document reads.

As is natural, these intentions have generated discontent and indignation among public opinion in this country, among the Romanian people as they are a direct attempt at the sovereignty of our state.

Analysing the nature and consequences of such an intention the deputies condemned the very idea of questioning Romania's territorial unity thinking it a serious precedent that could trigger, in the present international context, other actions attempting at the being of the Romanian state.

Likewise, the Assembly of Deputies also learned about the stand taken by representatives of the UDMR parliamentary group who showed that their political party as well as the overwhelming majority of the Hungarian minority in this country condemn any attempt at Romania's unity and territorial integrity. Declaring themselves loyal sons of this country which they consider their natural homeland they assessed that only in unity and close cooperation with the majority Romanian population and with the other national minorities, in a democratized and profoundly renewed Romania, can their fundamental rights and liberties be guaranteed.

The Assembly of Deputies is of the opinion that no matter how grave the gesture of the aforementioned group it does not express the attitude of the majority of the Romanian citizens of Hungarian nationality. That is why we think that—in the interest of the cause of Romania's democratization, of the establishment of democratic and truly human inter-ethnic relations—extremist manifestations of a limited group from among the Hungarian minority should not be answered with similar extremist manifestations no matter where they come from, which would poison the coexistence of the Romanian people with the national minorities, would deteriorate Romania's image in the world.

The members of the Assembly of Deputies call on all the citizens of the homeland not to let themselves provoked by such actions, to prove discernment and civic responsibility, to cooperate, through mutual understanding and tolerance, in establishing a climate of political and social stability in this country, in providing the necessary conditions for the furtherance and deepening of the process of democratization and structural transformations inaugurated by the December 1989 revolution. Only by acting in this way can we ensure Romania's reputation as a country able to solve its problems and to assert itself as a respected partner in international relations.

UDMR Issues Statement

AU1610143891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1209 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 16/10/1991—Recalling that a big number of speakers in the parliament on October 14 attacked both the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania [UDMR] and some of its leaders, the UDMR expresses among other things, in its statement signed by Geza Szocs, the amazement at the fact that the accusations against at it were not preceded and supported by objective information and arguments that are compulsory in any situation.

"That is precisely why we consider as cynical and dangerous the attempt of some to use feelings cherished by all as well as a general misinformation in order to attain their political purposes. The UDMR confines itself again to the facts that are necessary for the understanding of the situation and shows:

"1. One of the basic features of its political program is the propagation of the forms of self-management and institutional autonomy established in Europe, that do not maim the statal territorial integrity and do not harm anyone.

"The almost two-year long activity of the UDMR has demonstrated that this organization has known how to represent these principles in a balanced manner, taking account of the political realities, approaching adequately the situations of crisis most often generated in an artificial manner, that had a certain periodical sequence.

"2. No extremist demagogic power, either Hungarian or Romanian, is entitled to take monopoly or, claiming to interpret, modify the UDMR standpoint on autonomy. The UDMR, according to what was shown by the National Council of the delegations in Arad—considers that the attainment of its targets can be done only by parliamentary means and by direct participation in the creation of the legal framework.

"3. The UDMR leading and representative fora are not aware of the fact that any organized force of any kind inside the country would attempt to encroach upon

Romania's territorial integrity. If the existence of such forces will be proved, the UDMR will categorically and openly brand their activity.

"4. According to the information in our possession, a grouping called Szeklers' Political Group had the intention to apply to the Romanian Government, on commemorating the 1848 revolution, for the organization in future in the counties inhabited by Szeklers, of a referendum on administrative autonomy. The written account of the above-mentioned group, handed over to the UDMR leadership, shows that the October 19 event will only have the character of a commemoration.

"5. The above-mentioned grouping is not entitled by any of the leading forums, either national or county ones, to make statements on behalf of the UDMR that considers that grouping as an individual initiative with which none of its organizations did associate.

"6. The UDMR does not allow anyone to speak in its behalf and just the same, it does not accept criticism that, based on confused accusations, is called for by an illegitimate group, but that is directed against the UDMR and is likely to turn into an inquisitorial trial.

"7. The extremist Szekler forces, if they do exist, gain legitimacy with the masses precisely by the fact that the grave problems of minorities—from education to justice—which the UDMR has repeatedly emphasized, are still not settled.

"8. The removal from the country's political life of personalities who are known and appreciated on international plane, just and solely because they do not espouse the dogmas of certain circles, would only enhance suspicions about Romania on a world plane.

"The statement demands the standing bureaus of both chambers to analyze the addresses of October 14 and see if they comprise or not groundless and uncontrollable accusations, calumnies, offenses, incitations, phrases unworthy of the position as a parliamentarian, and, if the answer is yes, the bureaus should take action according to the Parliament's rules of procedure."

Daily Views Reactions

AU1610145791 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 15 Oct 91 p 3

[MTI report from Bucharest: "Political Incitement to Hysteria in Bucharest"]

[Text] No referendum on the territorial autonomy of the Szeklerland will be called for during the 19 October celebrations in Agyagfalva [Lutita]. The organization of the festivities has been taken over by the leadership of the Udvarhely branch of the Democratic Union of Magyars in Romania [RMDSz—UDMR in Romanian]. The Udvarhely branch has decided that the celebrations will only be of a commemorative nature. This is what MTI's correspondent in Bucharest was told over the telephone by Tibor Forrai, the deputy chairman of the RMDSz Udvarhely branch. Forrai stated that the members of the Szeklerland Political Group—which operates outside the RMDSz's framework—had taken this decision into account and that they would refrain from calling for a referendum.

The planned [referendum] initiative caused a serious political whirlwind in Bucharest on 14 October, and it grew into a major issue in Parliament.

The RMDSz leadership and local RMDSz organizations, including the Szeklerland branch, distanced themselves from the unilateral initiative taken by the Szeklerland Political Group. The RMDSz stressed that the Group did not form part of the Association, and that the RMDSz could, therefore, not take responsibility for the group's actions. Over the weekend, the RMDSz leadership also condemned the fact that in the absence of a concrete economic or political program, conservative forces—whose interests lie in Romania's isolation—had used the group's planned initiative to arouse hysteria and to issue slanderous statements, thereby trying to make electoral capital out of the incident.

At the senators' meeting, Senator Attila Verestoy stressed in vain that this was an individual initiative. The other 16 contributors were all dissatisfied with the way the RMDSz distanced itself from the initiative, and they demanded that the senators representing the Association should condemn these autonomy- initiatives in the most resolute terms and pledge their allegiance to the Romanian unified nation-state.

Several senators of the National Salvation Front [FSN] attacked RMDSz Political Deputy Chairman Geza Szocs and [reformed bishop] Laszlo Tokes, the honorary chairman of the Association. The FSN senators called upon the Romanian Intelligence Service and the Interior Ministry to report Szocs and Tokes for their "anti-Romanian activities." Senator Romulus Vulpescu immediately called for the banning of the RMDSz. In Antonie Iorgovan's opinion, "all this has been brought about by the fact that the Hungarian national minority has been granted too many rights."

UDMR Leaders View Controversial Arad Meeting

AU1410114591 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 9 Oct 91 pp 1, 3

[Report by Peter Mag: "RMDSz: What Is There in Store for Us?"]

[Text] From our Bucharest correspondent—Last weekend, the Democratic Union of Magyars in Romania [RMDSz—UDMR in Romanian] held presidium and deputies' council meetings in Arad. No official communique has been issued so far concerning the tensions, debates, and the decisions at these meetings, but the opposing negotiating partners have made a series of (often 100 percent contradictory) statements to the Romanian and Hungarian press and media. To explain and outline the various viewpoints, NEPSZABADSAG's

Bucharest correspondent asked Geza Domokos, the national chairman of the RMDSz, and Geza Szocs, the political deputy chairman of the RMDSz, to briefly summarize the reasons behind and the nature of the conflicts in Arad. The two officials gave their statements before the beginning of the RMDSz presidium meeting that began after the deadline for today's edition.

Answering our questions, Geza Domokos stressed the following points:

"Tensions erupted because the presidium wanted to nominate candidates for the positions—mostly state secretary positions—that would be up for negotiation during the government formation talks. By the end of the presidium meeting last Friday, we were still unable to agree on three candidates, so we decided to consult the National Deputies' Council meeting. At a national presidium session just before the meeting, the majority accepted a proposal to nominate Elod Kincses as a candidate for the post of state secretary at the Ministry of Justice at the National Deputies' Council meeting. This also happened.

"In relation to this, I would like to say that I have known Elod Kincses for a very long time, and I have always had great respect for his intelligence, education, and courage. Nobody can question his considerable contributions to the fact that we were able to do so much for democracy and minority rights in the first weeks and months following the December revolution. However, it is a fact that he is not in the country, although he should have come home and clarified his situation—and I told him this personally." (Elod Kincses left Romania after the March 1990 pogrom in Tirgu Mures; a warrant was issued for his arrest, and it has still not been annulled.) "Given that he did not return, we could not have submitted his nomination without being accused of malice. I therefore asked for another committee to be appointed, because we could not take responsibility for the Kincses nomination—in this, I felt I had the backing of some of the members of our negotiating committee that was discussing the formation of the new government. The National Deputies' Council did not accept this, and at their meeting, they made alternative proposals. According to Geza Szocs, the National Deputies' Council decided to charge our negotiating committee with the classification of nominations for the post of state secretary at the Ministry of Justice. After my statement to you, within the next few hours, we will make our nomination proposals."

Asked about the issue of autonomy for the Szeklerland, Domokos said the following:

"The historical Agyagfalva [Lituta] Szekler General Assembly was celebrated last year, too. Incidentally, this is a traditional celebration in the Szeklerland. It has nothing to do with the initiative launched by an association calling itself the "Szeklerland Political Group", which wants to use this year's Agyagfalva celebrations to present its concept on territorial autonomy for the Szeklerland. I find this initiative extremely unfortunate, an initiative launched by a group that is hiding behind the RMDSz's name. First of all, it is unclear what the organizers and initiators want, how they want to carry out their plans, what their aims are, what functions and structures they foresee for the territorial autonomy that they advocate, and how all this fits in with existing valid laws. Furthermore, they are doing this at a time when the country's political situation is very tense; we are experiencing a government crisis, a government that has resigned is directing the country, and there are parallel negotiations to form a new government coalition. The independent Romanian press, which understands the questions raised by Romanian political parties and ourselves, is worried because of the news that leaked out from the Arad meetings. There is blatant disinformation everywhere, and people are trying to create anxiety in Romania's society. At times like these, under such circumstances, one should not speak of territorial autonomy in Agyagfalva, and one should not cause confusion by launching irresponsible initiatives in a domestic political situation that is incoherent anyway. This would only isolate us, and the suspicion against us would grow deeper in Romanian society. Even those who we see as partners and with whom we are conducting negotiations would move further away from us. Most of all, just before the imminent local and parliamentary elections, a step like this would bring enormous advantages to the Vatra Romaneasca and the Romanian National Unity Party, who constantly scare Romanian society with this issue. Thoughtless steps serve the interests of those who provoke tensions."

We asked Geza Szocs whether the RMDSz was threatened by disintegration after the tensions that had developed in Arad. Szocs replied:

"I am convinced that our opponents exaggerate or deliberately magnify the danger of disintegration. The RMDSz is a coalition. The groups forming the coalition have not yet articulated themselves adequately, and this has enabled them to exist as a blurred unit. This has strengthened an illusion or feeling of unity that in fact does not exist. If these different trends are given clearer outlines, either through platforms or through a clearer party division—the way it happened or started to happen in Arad—this does not at all give rise to centrifugal forces, and the emerging new groups will not necessarily drift away from one another. It just means that the outlines between the groups will become clearer.

"Second, we have to notice that there is a particular link between the handling of individual types of crisis. Before the Arad meetings, it seemed that the most overwhelming problem was the issue of autonomy for the Szeklerland. However, as soon as it transpired that the government in which we might participate would be a cabinet that would include (or associate with) Elod Kincses—in other words, a cabinet that would take a

more serious interest in the demands made by Hungarians in Transylvania—well, in itself, this prospect diminished the clearness with which the autonomy issue had been presented until then. As soon as this very theoretical, perhaps even illusory possibility emerged, it immediately checked the extremist initiatives that had centered on the territorial autonomy of the Szeklerland over the past weeks and months. This shows that radicalism is the best cure against extremism. Moreover, Szeklers have great self-governing traditions and experience behind them, and nobody can deny them these traditions, particularly if you mix them with West European local government techniques. However, in this chaotic and amorphous political landscape that we live in, the Szeklers' justified territorial and administrative autonomy demands can give rise to distortions, or to the creation of an atmosphere that would make such initiatives (and others) impossible. That is why we should wait for the appropriate legal framework that would enable us to establish the kind of autonomy we are talking about.

"As for Elod Kincses' nomination for the post of state secretary at the Ministry of Justice, this was my initiative. The acceptance or nonacceptance of this proposal was symbolic; it would have forced the government to show its true colors and to prove whether it was able to free itself of the influence of extremist Romanian forces in the handling of national minority issues. Indeed, not even in the report presented by the examining committee dealing with the events in Tirgu Mures does it say that Elod Kincses could be condemned for anything."

UDMR Sees 'Political Monoculture' in Government

AU1510152891 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 11 Oct 91 pp 1, 5

[Unttributed report on interview with RMDSz Deputy Chairman Geza Szocs; place and date not given: "New Prime Minister, Old Government"]

[Text] According to Geza Szocs, political deputy chairman of the Democratic Union of Magyars in Romania [RMDSZ—UDMR in Romanian], the meeting between Romanian President Ion Iliescu, the prime minister elect, and the heads of the parliamentary parties on 9 October further increased the gap between the government power and the opposition, and it also became clear that the new prime minister, Theodor Stolojan, is not a trustee of genuine political changes but is a good-looking decoration as head of the new government in formation.

"The Romanian government to be formed in the wake of this meeting will operate in the same spirit of political monoculture that has characterized Romanian policy so far. The National Salvation Front [FSN] only succeeded in involving three other political forces in the government, and all these three forces are insignificant, and no changes are expected from their participation in the government. We must also taken into consideration the fact that these parties expect to receive secondary portfolios too"—Geza Szocs said. He also said that he could not understand the reasons behind holding the aforementioned meeting, which did not open any opportunities to a genuine dialogue; on the contrary, the disappointment of the opposition has only increased and so has their patience.

According to Geza Szocs, Theodor Stolojan is probably facing FSN pressure against his own will and convictions. Petre Roman continues to regard himself as a prime minister and thinks that, as the head of the party with a majority in Parliament, he has the task of outlining the nature of the government. The fact that the FSN agreed to nominate an independent figure to the position of prime minister is an "unparalleled generosity" on the part of this party, and with this the party has exhausted its readiness for compromise. It seems obvious that the FSN will continue to advance on the same forced political road as before.

According to Geza Szocs, the only way the participation of the RMDSz came up was that the prime minister-designate declared that, according to the opinions of the other political parties and his own opinion too, the government currently being formed is not suitable for carrying out considerable structural changes. This is a rejection of the RMDSz request to set up a ministry of national minority affairs.

In connection with the unexpected border crossing restrictions instituted by the Hungarian Republic, the RMDSz Presidium concluded with regret that "the decision of the Hungarian Interior Ministry bodies has created uncertainty and dissatisfaction, and it has harmed Hungary's prestige and the contacts between the two countries' population." The RMDSz expressed its hope that a humane solution will soon be found for the problems that forced Hungary to institute these measures.

International

Sar Krajina Region Sets Stance for Hague Talks

LD1610210391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1931 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] Knin, October 16 (TANJUG)—The government of the so- called Serbian Autonomous Region (SAR) of Krajina today adopted a platform to be set out at The Hague conference on Yugoslavia. The starting point is that "Sar Krajina is a free and independent territorial and political subject".

Sar Krajina Premier Milan Babic told journalists in Knin today he would head a delegation of the region in The Hague, which leaves tomorrow. Sar Krajina is a part of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia but is not recognized by the Croatian authorities.

Babic said that the independent territorial and political subjectivity of Krajina would be expressed through its economic system, political institutions, organs of power in the constitution as the highest legal act.

The subjectivity will also be expressed in the armed forces of territorial defence and police of Krajina, the foreign policy which will be conducted by its organs and institutions of power, together with the other subjects of Yugoslavia.

The region of Kninska Krajina, 13 municipalities in southeast Croatia and nearly completely inhabited by Serbs, last year declared itself an independent Serbian region.

The region declared independence due to the dissatisfaction of Serbs in Croatia with the new republican constitution which reduced them to the status of a national minority. As a result of this, clashes broke out between Croatian armed formations and Serbian territorial units. Fighting is still going on, even in conditions of relative ceasefire.

"The independence and freedom of Sar Krajina will be guaranteed by the international community, through the United Nations", it is said in the platform which will be presented in The Hague tomorrow.

The platform also sets out that the "independence and freedom of Sar Krajina will be guaranteed for 25 years and after that Serbs in Krajina will use their right to full self-determination and join an internationally recognized state".

The document emphasizes the "determination of Sar Krajina for the preservation of the Yugoslav federation" in which it would have the "status of an equal federal unit".

Babic To Represent 'Unified Krajina' at Hague

AU1710095691 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 0835 GMT 17 Oct 91

[Danko Peric report from Knin]

[Excerpt] In the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina, which as of yesterday is now defined as the Autonomous Region of Krajina [Autonomna Regija Krajina], the public's entire attention is directed at The Hague. Dr. Milan Babic and Goran Hadzic, presidents of the Serbian Krajinas, will meet with Henri Wijnaendts for the second time in less than a week.

With yesterday's decision by the government, or as it is still officially called, the Executive Committee of the Autonomous Region of the Bosnian Krajina, in Banja Luka, Babic was given the authorization to represent this Bosnian Krajina in The Hague.

The act of the unification of the two Krajinas, which are divided by the Una River, has thus been put into operation. The integration that took place in Grahovo at the end of June has been mentioned by the government of the Bosnian Krajina itself. The unified Krajina, as the Grahovo declaration calls it, will be presented to international political subjects for the first time today. [passage omitted]

Further on Krajina Delegation

LD1710124491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1027 GMT 17 Oct 91

[Text] The Hague, Oct 17 (TANJUG)—Prime Minister of the so-called Serbian Autonomous Region (SAO) of Krajina Milan Babic, and Goran Hadzic, prime minister of SAO Slavonia, Baranja and western Srem, two regions located in the southern and western parts of Croatia, respectively, arrived this morning in The Hague and immediately after their arrival met with the coordinator of the conference on Yugoslavia, Dutch Ambassador Henry Wijnaendts.

Wijnaednos, Babic and Hadzic are in a meeting held behind closed doors discussing the position of the Serbs in the Republic of Croatia and the future status of the Serbian Krajinas, it has been learned. They discussed the same issues last week in Paris, where Wijnaendts is serving as ambassador, but failed to agree on essential issues.

Babic and Hadzic are insisting on a special status for the Krajinas, but only as part of Yugoslavia, while Wijnaendts is offering them on behalf of the European Community special status in Croatia. It is difficult to guess what course today's talks in The Hague will take. The only thing that is certain is that on them largely depends the outcome of tomorrow's meeting in The Hague of the presidents of all six Yugoslav republics, Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar and the chairman of the Conference on Yugoslavia, Lord Carrington.

Presidency Examines Coming Hague Conference

LD1610182191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1521 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Oct (TANJUG)—A session of the SFRY Presidency was held in Belgrade today, presided over by its vice president, Branko Kostic, and attended also by the SFRY Assembly president and the deputy Federal secretary for national defense.

In connection with an announcement of a plenary session of the conference on Yugoslavia in The Hague on 18 October 1991, the SFRY Presidency concluded that a letter containing the SFRY Presidency's stance in connection with this session should be sent to EC Ministerial Council Chairman Van den Broek and to Lord Carrington, chairman of the peace conference on Yugoslavia.

At its session today, the SFRY Presidency issued an order on the establishment of a single SFRY armed forces badge of recognition.

The single SFRY armed forces badge of recognition is of a circular shape in three colors: blue, white, and red. In the white field, there is a small golden circle with the inscription JNA for members of the Yugoslav People's Army and TO for members of the Territorial Defense.

The SFRY Presidency also issued an order on the money payments to reservists doing their national service in the SFRY armed forces.

The SFRY Presidency decided to ask the Federal Executive Council to take measures so that work organizations and citizens can be promptly supplied with oil and oil-related products, and primarily consumers in agriculture so that sowing and other fall agriculture acitivities can be carried out successfully.

"We wish to inform you with regret that the SFRY Presidency was acquainted from public information media with the fact that on Friday, 18 October 1991, a plenary session of the conference on Yugoslavia will be held in The Hague, with the participation of the presidents of the Yugoslav republics, at which significant decisions could be made regarding the future of Yugoslavia.

"We would like to draw your attention to the fact that, according to the SFRY Constitution, issues of the country's defense, its security, its foreign policy, and the equality of republics, nations, and nationalities come solely within the competence of the SFRY Presidency.

"The role of the government and other federal bodies is to implement a policy established by the SFRY Presidency in those spheres.

"The SFRY Presidency is a collective body, and its president or a member that represents it abroad can do so only on the basis of decisions of the Presidency for the purpose of presentation of its stands.

"In accordance with its constitutional responsibilities, the SFRY Presidency is the only competent body for making decisions regarding problems of cease-fire and truce and also regarding the political solution of our crisis.

"The Presidency expressed its high degree of trust in activities of the European Community in its efforts to find a political solution for the Yugoslav crisis. We hold that the further successful work of the Conference on Yugoslavia can be achieved only if the federal bodies, primarily the SFRY Presidency, in addition to representatives and bodies of the republics, take part in decision-making. Hence, it is clear that the legitimacy of decisions in the making of which the SFRY Presidency failed to take part would be contentious, which would not be useful to any of the sides involved.

"The Presidency has high esteem for your personal efforts and the contribution of the European Community in the quest for a peaceful way out of the difficult situation in which our country is now," conclude the identical letters that were sent to Van den Broek and Lord Carrington and were signed by Branko Kostic, vice president of the SFRY Presidency.

'New Proposal' Slated for 18 Oct Hague Meeting

LD1610191691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1644 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 16 (TANJUG)—A new proposal by the Yugoslav government for Yugoslavia's functioning in a transitional period, until a funal agreement on the country's future is reached, will be presented at the next plenary session of the conference on Yugoslavia in The Hague on October 18, [words indistinct] announced today.

This was decided at a government session today, chaired by Federal Prime Minister Ante Markovic, as the government Information Secretariat announced today.

Markovic's cabinet asked the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia, which has unilaterally seceded from Yugoslavia, to postpone the unilateral decisions to cut transport, communication and other links with the rest of Yugoslavia 'until a final agreement on the country's future is reached.'

The postponement would help 'create conditions for the success of the peace conference' which has been held in The Hague since September 7, as announced.

The federal government today temporarily suspended payment operations with Slovenia which on October 7 had replaced the dinar with its own currency 'the tolar.' The government entrusted the 'competent departments to monitor the consequences of Slovenia's unilateral acts and impose additional measures so as to protect the Yugoslav market.'

The government also entrusted the Federal Interior Ministry to coordinate with the republican interior ministries the action of uncovering channels for illegal sale of foreign currencies in Yugoslavia and to punish perpetrators.

The introduction of the Slovenian currency, described as a 'coupon' in an announcement, has boosted the foreign currency black market in Yugoslavia. The government said foreign currencies were now being sold at an 'economically absurd exchange rate', up to five times greater than the official one.

Constitutional Court Annuls Independence Acts

LD1610195791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1830 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 16 (TANJUG)—The Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia today annulled the acts on independence of the Yugoslav Republics of Slovenia and Croatia, assessing, as reported, that they grossly violate the federal Constitution.

The acts, which were adopted outside the federal Constitution, according to the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia, change the structure of the Yugoslav state and thus its borders. The Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia also annulled the charter on the rights of Serbs and other nationalities in Croatia, which was adopted by the Croatian authorities.

The court has found that the charter violates the federal Constitution which [word indistinct] the equality of all peoples and the equality of all citizens regardless of nationality.

No act can regulate separate rights to only certain peoples and it is even less able to transform a people into a national minority, the Constitutional Court in Yugoslavia concluded.

The Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia assessed that changes in the law on the internal affairs of Croatia are unconstitutional and in opposition to a series of federal laws, including the regulation on the basis of which the National Guard was founded as a professional, armed military formation.

Kostic Claims EC Ignoring Presidency

AU1610175591 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] We have already reported that the SFRY Presidency session has been held in Belgrade. In an exclusive interview with Belgrade Radio First Program, Dr. Branko Kostic, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, touched on today's session of the collective head of state, as well as the fact that the EC has not invited the SFRY Presidency to attend the peace conference in The Hague convened for the day after tomorrow.

[Begin Kostic recording] At the Presidency session today, we agreed on and sent letters both to Lord Carrington and Mr. van den Broek in which we expressed regret that we learned about that [conference] through the media. We warned that according to the valid Yugoslav Constitution the SFRY Presidency is the body under whose authority all these issues should be discussed in The Hague, and at the same time pointed out that the possible attendance of any Presidency member without stands being agreed in advance would be legally invalid. This applies not only to Presidency members but also to any federal official.

We invited all Presidency members to the session today, and we also invited the president of the federal government, and the minister of foreign affairs, who did not come. They informed us that a session of the Federal Government is being held at the same time.

This practice of ignoring the SFRY Presidency is along the line of a previously given written EC announcement that the EC is not going to recognize the Presidency in this composition—which is working under the conditions of a direct war danger—and its decisions.

This evening, we are going to have the document which the republican presidents should sign in The Hague, so we convened an SFRY Presidency session for tomorrow [17 October] at 1100 [1000 GMT]. Just as we have been regularly doing all the time, we have invited all the Presidency members, the federal prime minister, and the minister of foreign affairs. We, the Presidency, are going to take our stand on this document regardless of whether we will attend this peace conference or not. However, after taking the (?provisions of the UN Charter), the Paris Charter, and so on into consideration, we warned about the shortcomings that any kind of agreement with presidents of Yugoslav republics would have if one ignores the constitutionally authorized bodies of Yugoslavia as the only legitimate and internationally recognized state community in this (?region). [end recording]

Croatian Government Sends Letter To Gorbachev

LD1610213291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2007 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] Zagreb, 16 Oct (Tanjug)—"Even after last night's signing of the Moscow agreement, the war in Croatia has not ceased. At this moment Vukovar is being exposed to the fiercest attacks so far. I recommend that you urgently send messages from Moscow calling for an immediate cease-fire on all war fronts," a letter from Croatian Government President Franjo Greguric to Soviet President Gorbachev stresses.

"I also recommend that you publicly call for the urgent removal of the wounded from Vukovar and a halt to all activities in the organized eviction of the population of Ilok, Bapska, and Sarengrad, and the lifting of the blockade on Dubrovnik and its surroundings," the letter which the President of the Croatian government sent

from this evening's government session to Soviet President Gorbachev, Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, and Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic stresses in conclusion.

Tudjman Invites Shevardnadze To Visit Croatia

LD1610231491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2205 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] Moscow, October 16 (TANJUG)—The president of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, Franjo Tudjman, invited former Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze to contribute to the search for ways to stop the bloodshed in Yugoslavia.

As Tudjman said in Moscow today, a great international authority like Shevardnadze could help the ceasefire.

Tudjman assessed the mediation efforts of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev in the settlement of the Yugoslav crisis as positive, adding that he hoped pressure would be exerted on Serbia to stop the war against Croatia, following the Moscow communique.

Eduard Shevardnadze, who is now heading an independent foreign policy association, also assessed Gorbachev's mediation as positive. He, however, said an initiative alone was not enough.

In a statement to the press, Tudjman said he invited Russian President Boris Yeltsin to visit Croatia. He said that Russia and Yeltsin could play a decisive role in the ceasefire in Croatia.

Tudjman Says YPA Linked With USSR Coup Plotters

LD1610192691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1719 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] Moscow, October 16 (TANJUG)—President of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia Franjo Tudjman said this afternoon that the Yugoslav People's Army 'led by the communist generals, had been directly linked' with the putschists in the Soviet Union.

After talks with Russian leader Boris Yeltsin, Tudjman spoke to Soviet reporters instead of attending a scheduled press conference at the International Press Centre in Moscow.

Croatia is fighting against the restoration of communism, said Tudjman, adding that the communist generals had at the start of the year 'received written orders from the Soviet Army's Main Political Administration.'

Tudjman did not offer any proof for his claims.

As the Soviet Army does not have a poltical administration, TANJUG correspondent spoke to competent officials in the Soviet Ministry of Defence, where he was told that the claim 'was a fabrication.'

The documents which have remained after the failed putsch, 'do not give any foundation for claims of secret links between the Soviet and Yugoslav Defence Ministries,' as set out by the Soviet Ministry of Defence.

The Soviet Ministry of Defence said that it and its administrations, have not for many years, 'issued instructions or written orders to ally countries in the Warsaw Pact, and certainly not to Yugoslavia which had an independent stand before [words indistinct].

Tudjman told Soviet reporters that Yeltsin had expressed readiness to help in finding a solution to the crisis in Yugoslavia along with Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev. Tudjman was sceptical about the possibility of direct negotiations between Serbia and Croatia in the immediate future.

Defense Ministry Refutes Allegation

LD1610230991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2149 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, October 16 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Defense Ministry on Wednesday night described the statement of Croatian President Franjo Tudjman on the link between the leadership of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) and the putschists in the Soviet Union as an "unprecedented lie."

Tudjman stated in Moscow on Wednesday the claim that the JNA had been in "direct contact with the putschists" who attempted a coup in the Soviet Union in August.

A ministry statement set out that "Tudjman, grossly abusing the hospitality of the Soviet hosts, made use of the opportunity for another attack on the Yugoslav People's Army."

Tudjman's claims, the statement said, "were immediately denied by the press department of the Defense Ministry of the Soviet Union. The speedy manner of the reaction of the representative of the Soviet Army points to the nature of the uttered claim and vile intention of Franjo Tudjman."

The Defense Ministry statement also recalled that this was another in a series of attempts by Croatian representatives to "compromise the JNA in the eyes of the world public."

EC Envoys, Markovic Meet, Urge Preservation of SFRY

LD1710050491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2056 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, October 16 (TANJUG)—The ambassadors of the European Community countries to Yugoslavia met with federal Prime Minister Ante Markovic in Belgrade today, at their insistence. The ambassadors said that only Yugoslavia as a whole could be admitted to the European Community.

The government information office issued a statement saying that the prevalent stand at the meeting was that the preservation of Yugoslavia was the only real solution for all Yugoslav nations and nationalities and all six republics.

Markovic said that the federal government's stands on overcoming the current crisis in Yugoslavia were similar to those of the E.C.—immediate and unconditional cessation of all armed clashes and the beginning of talks on the country's future order.

According to the statement, the E.C. ambassadors agreed with Markovic and added that this stand would be present at the meeting in The Hague on Friday.

Vance Meets Bosnian Leaders in Sarajevo

AU1610181091 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 15 Oct 91

[Text] Cyrus Vance, envoy of the UN Secretary General, paid a visit to Sarajevo today. The prominent U.S. diplomat, whose aim is to become acquainted with the Yugoslav crisis, has been received separately by Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, and Bogic Bogicevic, member of the SFRY Presidency from Bosnia-Hercegovina. As reported, Vance also held talks with Jure Pelivan, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Government.

EC Observers Group Arrives in Dubrovnik

LD1610184791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1621 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] Dubrovnik, Oct 16 (TANJUG)—A new group of observers for the E.C. monitor mission around noon today arrived in Dubrovnik, a city on Croatia's Adriatic coast, instead of last night, as the ferry Slavija was stopped and returned overnight to Korcula, a port on the island of Korcula.

The new group of E.C. observers has assumed the negotiating role from the previous group of observers, which yesterday evening witnessed the entry of the Federal Army in the nearby town of Cavtat. The observers are to have talks with representatives of the Yugoslav People's Army (YPA) on the withdrawal of the Army to position during the [words indistinct] dating from October 12, as reported.

Romania Denies Supplying Army With Arms, Equipment

LD1710160391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1446 GMT 17 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest, Oct 17 (TANJUG)—The Romanian Defence Ministry today denied allegations reappearing in the Slovenian and Polish media that Romania has been selling surface-to-surface missiles, vehicles for the transportation of these missiles and other military equipment to the Yugoslav People's Army (YPA).

The ministry described the allegations as pure lie and provocation, intended to aggravate good neighbourly relations in the Balkans, particularly the traditionally stable and friendly relations between Romania and Yugoslavia.

The Romanian Defence Ministry said the Romanian Army and military industry were strictly abiding by the stand of the Romanian Government and respecting the embargo on arms deliveries to any of the sides in the conflict in Yugoslavia.

Romanian Foreign Ministry Spokesman Traian Chebeleu last night also denied the respective allegations and expressed dissatisfaction with a statement by Slovenian Information Minister Jelko Kacin, according to which the "Yugoslav Army, in cooperation with the Romanian Army, has purchased 54 vehicles for the transporation of surface-to-surface mssiles".

Traffickers Planned to Buy Arms for Croatia

LD1610130191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1216 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] Madrid, October 16 (TANJUG)—Four arms traffickers who were arrested in Malaga a few days ago had been planning illegally to purchase tanks, rocket launchers, mortars and large quantities of ammunition for Croatia, it was disclosed in Madrid today.

Two Croats and two Austrian citizens had been negotiating the arms purchase with the Spanish office of the English firm Commerce International group, which is based in San Pedro de Alcantara, near Malaga, as learned.

This English firm 'was active also during the Iraq-Iran war, and also during other regional armed conflicts,' the Spanish press reports today.

The four men were arrested at Malaga Airport as they were planning to return to London. The arms dealers' baggage was found to contain 130,000 dollars, 70,000 German marks, arms catalogues, and contracts on arms purchases.

The men have been detained in prison and will most probably be charged not only with attempting to take hard currency out of the country illegally, but also with arms trafficking.

Federal

FEC Calls Independence Proclamations Unconstitutional

LD1610142391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1131 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Oct (TANJUG)—The Federal Executive Council [FEC] today sent a report to the SFRY

Assembly declaring its position that the decisions of the Slovene and Croatian assemblies to proclaim their so-called independence—including their secession from Yugoslavia—are unilateral and unconstitutional. As such, the FEC states, they cannot have any legal effect.

The report points out that these two unilateral decisions represent a direct attack against the sovereignty, territorial integrity, and international legal position of the SFRY because they represent the forced changing of borders within Yugoslavia.

The FEC does not wish to bring into question the right of a nation to self-determination but believes that this right should not be exercised to the detriment of the same right of other nations. The FEC based its opinion on the decision of the CSCE and the Paris Charter, the adoption of which the SFRY also participated in.

The Federal Government also considers that calling the Yugoslav People's Army an army of occupation and aggression—as did the aforementioned decisions of the Slovene and Croatian assemblies—is untrue and unacceptable.

The report sent to the SFRY Assembly by the FEC concludes by noting that the FEC will express these views to the chairman of The Hague conference on Yugoslavia, members of the European Community, and other representatives of the United Nations.

Bank Prevents Slovenian, Croatian Foreign Deposits

LD1610212791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1857 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, October 16 (TANJUG)—The board of governors of the National Bank of Yugoslavia (NBY) has decided to prevent the banks of the unilaterally seceded Yugoslav republics of Slovenia and Croatia from disposing of their foreign currency deposits abroad.

"Until they offer proof of regularly settled payments guaranteed by the federation and the central federal bank," they will not be able to dispose of their foreign currency deposits abroad, as NBY Governor Dusan Vlatkovic told reporters today.

According to Vlatkovic, foreign creditors and banks where the Slovenian and Croatian banks have their accounts, will be informed of this decision.

Vlatkovic said that the federation and the NBY would also inform world financial institutions and organizations not to recognize any eventual borrowings by Slovenia and Croatia which had occurred after the two republic's unilateral declarations on secession on June 25.

Yugoslavia "does not recognize or guarantee" debts incurred after that date, said Vlatkovic.

Vlatkovic informed reporters of today's decision by the Yugoslav Government on stopping payment operations with Slovenia, and said that Slovenian banks which had monetarily seceded from Yugoslavia on October 8 by the introducing of Slovenia's own currency, no longer had any right to use the primary money issue.

The Slovenian National Bank is obliged to return to the NBY all the Yugoslav currency in the republic in three day's time. It is estimated that there are 10 billion dinars (about 800 million deutsche marks) in Slovenia.

By mid November, Slovenia should also return to the NBY its owings, which had amounted to 27 billion dinars by June 27.

In the event it does not do so, the dinar owings will be converted into foreign currency owings, said Vlatkovic.

Kostic Chairs Belgrade Presidency Session

LD1710112591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1033 GMT 17 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Oct (TANJUG)—A session of the SFRY Presidency began at 1100 [1000 GMT] in Belgrade, reports the Presidency's information service.

The session is chaired by Branko Kostic. Presidency members Borisav Jovic, Jugoslav Kostic and Sejdo Bajramovic are attending. The session is also attended by SFRY Assembly President Slobodan Gligorijevic, Federal Defense Secretary Army General Veljko Kadijevic and Federal Internal Affairs Secretary Petar Gracanin.

As previously announced, the Presidency is expected to adopt positions in connection with tomorrow's plenary session of the conference on Yugoslavia in The Hague.

Media Skeptic Over Possible Cease-Fire

LD1710132391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1249 GMT 17 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 17 (TANJUG)—Commenting on the talks in Moscow last Tuesday between the presidents of the two biggest Yugoslav federal units, Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia and Franjo Tudjman of Croatia, and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, as well as on the latest European Community proposals, Yugoslav papers today express doubt about the possibility of a ceasefire in the country.

The Hungarian language daily MAGYAR SZO published in Novi Sad, the capital of Serbia's province of Vojvodina, questions 'the competence of Milosevic and Tudjman' who signed the ceasefire agreement in Moscow and asks 'whether the armed units are under their control'.

The paper goes on to say that 'No Yugoslav Army representatives were present in Moscow', that 'the competence of the Soviet Union, the superpower with a

devastated economy, is questionable' and that 'the thunder of arms shows that politicians can hardly influence the developments'.

'Both Milosevic and Tudjman could express their lack of confidence in the host ... Because the Serbs are aware that the Soviet Union also participated in the decision to ban arms deliveries to Yugoslavia, which prevents the Federal Army from purchasing Soviet military equipment, while the Croats still remember that only a few weeks ago Moscow urged a united Yugoslavia', warns MAGYAR SZO.

The Belgrade daily VECERNJE NOVOSTI writes that 'Gorbachev's decisive argument for signing the ceasefire agreement must have been that the Soviet Union would strictly support the efforts invested so far by the European Community, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the United Nations, and that in view of possible sanctions of Europe and the international community, further aggravation of the Yugoslav crisis would benefit no one'.

The agreement in Moscow 'should act as an impetus to the peace process started in The Hague', says NOVOSTI and adds that the plea voiced by Milosevic and Tudjman for the Soviet Union and the United States to help in their talks was motivated by the wish to avoid the talks being described in the Serbian and Croatian public as yet another political joke.

Europe's effort and the Moscow ceasefire agreement 'do not resolve the key issue for Croatia—what to do with the Yugoslav Army', says the Zagreb daily VJESNIK.

The paper, published in the capital of Croatia, asks 'whether the signatures put down in Moscow also indicate that an agreement on the disassociation of the Yugoslav republics may follow soon, or at least that the issue will be seriously discussed'.

VECERNJI LIST of Zagreb says that the model of the political settlement of the Yugoslav crisis 'may be undermined by different Yugoslav internal forces, primarily Serbia and the Federal Army'.

Slovenia

Official Explains Position at Hague Economic Talks

AU1710114091 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] Three commissions operate within the framework of the The Hague peace conference, among them the economic commission whose task is to solve the economic issues of the former Yugoslavia. Igor Omerza, General Manager of the Public Auditing Service of Slovenia, participates in its work. Late last night he returned to Ljubljana and this morning he informed the public about the stands and activities. Sonja Znidarsic prepared a summary of his talk.

[Begin Znidarsic recording] At The Hague conference, Slovenia decidedly takes a stand that it does not agree to any form of Yugoslavia anymore, neither federation nor association of states. (?The purpose of) the talks is cooperation with other parts of the former Yugoslavia, but only on the basis of talks among sovereign states.

Serbia with its satellite, Montenegro, has a clear position as well. They advocate and would prefer an even more centralized Yugoslavia than it has been so far. Macedonia and Bosnia- Hercegovina would like to wrench themselves from this centralized embrace, but they do not know how. They do not have clear positions on this issue. Croatia participated in the meeting of the commission only one morning and even then with rather undefined positions. Naturally, the Federal Government officials are also present in The Hague. They are still offering the Markovic reform program as a solution. However, according to Mr. Omerza, international diplomats do not take them seriously anymore, although the European parliamentarians still persist in their efforts to somehow preserve Yugoslavia and unite something that cannot be united anymore.

Answering the question how The Hague conference reacted to the Slovene monetary independence, Omerza said that there were no negative reactions, that it was considered a fait accompli. Since for Slovenia the disassociation process is one of its most important strategic objectives in The Hague, the Slovene delegation proposed a formation of a fourth commission which would start work on drawing up the final accounts for separation, however, this proposal was not accepted.

Slovenia also proposed to freeze the currency reserves and to place the National Bank of Yugoslavia under international control beginning 3 October, when the state coup took place, as The Hague conference agrees. By waiting, while the National Bank of Yugoslavia has essentially already become a Serboslav Bank, soon there will not be any foreign currency left. This proposal was not accepted either as it was thought to be premature.

However, Slovenia will insist on this demand. Otherwise, if it has to renounce the foreign reserves, it will also renounce the debt. And if the formal recognition of Slovenia is delayed for too long, Igor Omerza said, it will, of course, be necessary to consider if our participation in the conference serves any purpose at all, since dying in installments [allusion to title of book by postwar dissident] can hurt us very much economically. International recognition and international relations also open up better economic prospects for us. [end recording]

Rupel Explains Rome Talks With De Michelis

AU1610143591 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 0600 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] Slovene Foreign Minister Dr. Dimitrij Rupel attended a constituency meeting in Nova Gorica last night, organized by the Party of Democratic Reform or actually by its deputy, Borut Pahor. Dr. Rupel talked in

detail about yesterday's talks with the Italian Foreign Minister Gianni de Michelis. Here is a report by Marjan Drobez:

[Begin Drobez recording] When Foreign Minister Dr. Dimitrij Rupel enumerated and evaluated the results of his visit and talks in Rome, he said that they were good, friendly, and binding in content, that is to say, successful.

Italy will officially, that is legally, recognize Slovenia in one or two months. In fact, with regard to present relations and circumstances, Italy has already recognized it. To overcome Slovene economic difficulties, Italy will commit from 70 to 80 billion lira, which will be transferred through its specialized corporation competent for such international transactions. A detailed Italian aid program to Slovenia will be adopted at a forthcoming meeting of the experts from both countries.

Foreign Minister Gianni de Michelis gave assurances in Rome yesterday that a loan of 94 billion lira will be provided to build roads, the so-called Osimo roads, that would connect Slovenia, through Sezana or Nova Gorica, with Italy. Italy is further prepared, according to Dr. Rupel, in the shortest possible time to settle the situation of Slovene workers employed in border towns in order to make them equal with workers from EC member countries regarding their rights and protection.

As far as the Osimo agreement is concerned, both countries concur that the borders between Slovenia and Italy are final and unchangeable, and therefore it is not possible to discuss them in any way again. The aforementioned agreement might be, however, supplemented regarding new possibilities and needs that have emerged in past years or would be useful for the future cooperation between Slovenia and Italy.

Generally, last night in Nova Gorica Foreign Minister Dr. Rupel was optimistic with regard to enforcing and recognizing an independent and sovereign state of Slovenia, and he said, I quote: that a nice heap of states will shortly recognize Slovenia. [end recording]

Pucnik Comments on 14 Oct Demos Session

AU1610090691 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 15 Oct 91

[Text] Last night the Demos Council held a session behind closed doors to discuss the circumstances that have emerged in the ruling coalition since a group of members left the Slovene Democratic Alliance—National Democratic Party [Slovens Demokraticna Zveza—Narodna Demokratska Stranka]. As both sides demonstrated willingness to remain in the ruling coalition, the representatives of both groups were included in the Demos Council. Dr. Joze Pucnik, president of the Demos Council, said that the deputies of the former Slovene Democratic Alliance would decide by themselves which of the two parties they would join. In the interview with Sandi Frelih, Dr. Pucnik rebuffed criticism that the Demos deputies have turned into a voting machine.

[Begin recording] [Pucnik] It seems at the moment that this group is still cooperating within Demos, everything suggests that it will continue to do so, although it is impossible to say for how long at the moment. However, I anticipate that they intend to form their own political party, which would be between Demos and the opposition, at least this is what one can speculate. It is hard to imagine what their program principles will be, bearing in mind that there are a great number of parties in the center.

[Frelih] However, as we have previously said, block voting [glasovanje v bloku] also gives indiscriminate support to the government in those spheres in which it does not deserve it. There has been plenty of criticism of the government lately and you also discussed the economic questions yesterday?

[Pucnik] Concerning support for the government, the deputies often make individual decisions, and so do the parties. It is possible to discuss such matters in the Demos Deputies Club, to voice them in advance, and so forth. However, I do not think it is prudent to make a decision at the last moment and vote completely differently. In the interest of coordination within the coalition it is better if this decision is known in advance.

Yesterday we listened to the briefing on the economic situation in Slovenia, we discussed the problems that are confronting us at the moment, and of course also the complications related to the adoption of the economic laws in the Chamber of the Associated Labor. We did not manage to find any particularly innovative solutions for these problems. Therefore, we will have to try harder in the future, and if this fails, then we must actually start thinking about completely different, perhaps more innovative solutions relatively soon. [end recording]

Army, Slovene Representatives Resume Talks

LD1610150291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1259 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Oct (TANJUG)—The Information Service of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense has reported that talks between Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] representatives and a delegation from the Republic of Slovenia, which started in Ljubljana on 12 October, resumed at the Federal Secretariat for National Defense in Belgrade last night.

The delegations were headed by Admiral Ljubivoje Jokic, assistant federal secretary for national defense, on behalf of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, and Deputy Slovene Defense Minister Miran Bogataj, accompanied by associates.

The delegation for the Federal Secretariat for National Defense again offered its proposed peaceful solution

regarding the removal of YPA units and property from the territory of the Republic of Slovenia.

The delegation for the Republic of Slovenia took it upon itself to inform the Federal Secretariat for National Defense by 17 October 1991 about the opinions of the appropriate Slovene bodies regarding the proposal.

18 Oct Army Withdrawal From Slovenia Still Uncertain

AU1610181191 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Statement by Major-General Janez Slapar, chief of the Territorial Defense Headquarters of Slovenia at the Stajerska Territorial Defense meeting in Maribor on 16 October—recorded]

[Text] The Slovene and the international commission held talks in Ljubljana on Saturday [7 October], but no solution to the problem of Yugoslav Army's departure was reached on that day. Yesterday's meeting in Belgrade resulted in some positive moves, in the sense that it has also been secured that the conditions Slovenia has imposed regarding Army's withdrawal will be fulfilled. These conditions are: the provision that the manpower must leave the Slovene territory by 18 October, as envisaged in the SFRY Presidency decision three months ago, and, of course, that the materiel must remain on Slovene territory. In this sense the Army commission adopted a positive stand; therefore, the materiel—most of it, that is to say practically all of the commonly shared means [kolektivna sredstva] and transportation means—would remain in Slovenia. The question of certain technical agreements still exists. These also have to be verified by the responsible organs of the Republic of Slovenia. We anticipate that the manpower would leave Slovenia by the way of Koper Harbor carrying their personal arms.

At the moment I cannot assess how many technical obstacles are involved in this, bearing in mind that today is 16 October and that, in effect, in some 48 hours the deadline for Army's withdrawal will run out. However, the responsible organs will draw an assessment about this today.

It is also expected that the regional commissions, which are working on the subject of the hand over of materiel, will meet today and resolve some of the problems relating to this.

Croatia

Branko Salaj Interviewed on Serbs in Croatia

LD1610193291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1745 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] Budapest, October 16 (TANJUG)—Information Minister of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia Branko Salaj has stated that "The Serbs in Croatia cannot get any special status in relation to the other minorities."

In an interview published today in the Hungarian daily NEPSZABADSZAG, Salaj specified that "Serbs can enjoy cultural autonomy everywhere, and in some place local autonomy, too." He said that work was under way in Croatia on a bill on minorities.

The position of the Serbian people in Croatia is one of the chief problems standing in the way of an agreement on a solution to the crisis in Yugoslavia.

The Croatian authorities treat Serbs in Croatia as a minority to which they are willing to give a special status in the republic which has unilaterally seceded. The Serbs living in Croatia do not, however, want to withdraw from Yugoslavia together with Croatia. The Serbs constitute the numerically strongest nation in Yugoslavia.

The Croatian information minister stated to NEPSZABADSZAG that the Croatian authorities "Will not negotiate with those who want to break away" from the republic. He set out, however, that it was necessary "To negotiate with the loyal Serbs" and to ensure their "Full civil [word indistinct] rights."

Minister Salaj again called on the international community immediately to recognize the independence of Croatia. He accused the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia of trying "To spread the war to the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina," a republic populated by Serbs, Croats and Muslims, the three strongest nations in Yugoslavia.

Slavonia Serbs Refuse To Be Part of Croatia

AU1710094491 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Interview with Goran Hadzic, president of the Serbian Autonomous Region [SAR] of Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem, by Dragan Stavljanin, place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Stavljanin] Mr. Hadzic, the delegation of Serbian Autonomous Region of Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem is going to The Hague tomorrow, together with the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina. What positions are you going with? Are there any changes of the previously stated positions?

[Hadzic] Prior to tomorrow's trip, we have held a government session today. We solidified the general position from which we can not and will not depart, and that is that we will not recognize any kind of status within the frame of the Republic of Croatia. That is the general position. As far as the rest is concerned, whether we will be within Yugoslavia or Serbia, as an autonomous region or something else, we'll agree on that tomorrow.

[Stavljanin] Will this position, that you will not be within Croatia, stand as such even if Croatia remains within Yugoslavia?

[Hadzic] That is the position. The people have decided that way. We must respect the will of the people. We will have the same kind of relationship with Croatia as Croatia will have with Yugoslavia, and that will be primarily some kind of economic relationship without any kind of territorial aspect. We will not stay within any kind of Croatian borders.

[Stavljanin] Do you have any indication what the position of the EC will be and what is the minimum beyond which the Serbian people of this region will not go under any circumstances?

[Hadzic] We can only speculate what position Europe will take. They seek the least painful solution for themselves, but that is unacceptable to us. I believe they have realized that we implement the will of Serbian people in both regions, and that we can not deviate except in the manner desired by the people.

[Stavljanin] Considering the European position and the Croatian position, which insists that they will not give any more than cultural autonomy, than what they term uncertainty, and what is termed the price to pay, are you optimistic?

[Hadzic] I agree with the Croatian position to allow cultural autonomy to the Serbs who may remain within its borders, and the same will be granted to all Croats who remain within our borders. But Croatia speaks on behalf of Croatia. As for these two regions, they are not within Croatia, so it has nothing to do with us, and we are not asking to be given anything. Whatever we have, we have gained by paying for it with our blood and our lives.

Administration of Railroad Lines Assumed

LD1610232291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2141 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] Zagreb, October 16 (TANJUG)—Government of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia on Wednesday evening adopted a decision on "taking over 272 kilometers of railroad lines on the territory of Croatia", the administration of which was in the hand of enterprises outside Croatia.

The decision was taken as part of the package, the aim of which was to create legislation in the area of economy of the "independemt Croatian state."

The decision pertains to the railroad lines, vehicles and apartments of the employed which were also administered by the enterprises from Ljubljana (Slovenia) and Sarajevo (Bosnia- Hercegovina).

As envisaged, the Croatian enterprise administering the railroads would transfer the administration of railroad lines on their respective territories to the enterprises from the other republics.

Croatia unilaterally proclaimed secession from Yugoslavia in late June. The decision was confirmed by its parliament on October 8.

Assembly Issues Ultimatum to Army, Alleges Genocide

LD1610201291 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] Proceeding from assembly conclusions and its own earlier decisions, the Government of the Republic of Croatia this evening adopted a clear stand on the so-called Yugoslav Army which is stepping up its aggression and genocide against Croatia and its people. This is Jasenka Dudic reporting for Croatian radio news.

Citing the failure by Serbia and the Yugoslav Army to observe undertakings made under international law and the latest agreement in The Hague on a total cease-fire, the lifting of the blockades on towns and ports, the provision of humanitarian assistance, and withdrawal from the Republic of Croatia, the Croatian Government has concluded that all officers and soldiers who voluntarily leave the units and institutions of the Yugoslav Army by midnight on 10 November will be guaranteed their personal safety, retention of the status which they had in the Yugoslav Army, and arrangements for their free departure from the territory of the Republic of Croatia for those who want this. Upon the expiry of the aforementioned deadline, officers and soldiers will be treated as members of an enemy army in accordance with the international rules of war.

The Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] is obliged to enable officers and soldiers who are citizens of the Republic of Croatia freely to leave units and institutions by midnight on 10 November, and to facilitate safe passage for officers and soldiers who are in the Yugoslav Army outside the borders of the Republic of Croatia to the territory of the Republic of Croatia. Upon the expiry of the aforementioned deadline, officers and soldiers of the YPA who are citizens of the Republic of Croatia and who are not enabled to leave the YPA will be considered as prisoners of war, to whom the provisions of the Geneva Convention on the treatment of prisoners of war of 1949 apply.

In accordance with undertakings under international law in the agreement of 10 October in The Hague, the Government of the Republic of Croatia continues, the Yugoslav Army must immediately lift the blockade on the towns surrounded by the Army—Vukovar, Dubrovnik, Ilok, and others; enable the urgent resumption of transportation, telecommunications, and other links to take place; and leave the territory of the Republic of Croatia, with the proviso that units brought in from the territories of Serbia, Montenegro, and Bosnia-Hercegovina should leave the territory of the Republic of Croatia immediately, while units and institutions with peace-time bases in the Republic of Croatia should leave the territory of Croatia without their equipment, arms and weapons by 10 November at the latest.

The government of the Republic of Croatia condemns in the strongest terms the attempts of the Yugoslav Army to displace the citizens of Ilok, Bapska, Sarengrad, and other villages on the pretext of agreements and referendums carried out, while the army command of the YPA units stationed in Sid in the Republic of Serbia is unsuccessfully seeking to disguise the genocide of the Croatian people on the territory of the Republic of Croatia. It was concluded that Cyrus Vance, the UN envoy, will be informed of this act of genocide tomorrow, and the shameful agreement will be translated and sent to the international public. The session of the Croatian Government continues.

'Chetnik' Attacks on Perusic, Lika Reported

LD1710101291 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 17 Oct 91

[Text] Last night Gospic municipality was not without incidents or attacks from Greater Serbian terrorists and the occupying army. From the notorious strongholds of Novi Licki Osik and Medak, terrorists used mortar launchers, artillery and howitzers to attack Croatian positions in Ribnik, Stari Licki Osik, Vuksic, and even Perusic.

Between 2100 and 2200 last night, after a tracer rocket was fired, aircraft of the enemy army shelled our positions. Two members of the Croatian Army were killed and two were injured in the attack.

Courageous members of the Croatian Army succeeded in holding their positions despite the barrage of projectiles. Under an order from Belgrade and Knin in a village near Perusic, the Chetniks yesterday killed and massacred seven weak and innocent citizens, including two old women, one 88 and one 76.

Despite efforts by Croatian authorities in the Lika area to normalize life as soon as possible and to provide safety for all citizens regardless of their nationality, the Greater Serbian occupiers who continue to kill and massacre innocent people are obviously not interested in that.

Navy Stops Ferry Near Dubrovnik, Removes All Men

LD1710101891 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0905 GMT 17 Oct 91

[Text] The Slavija ferry sailed into the Dubrovnik port of Gruz last night at around 2100, carrying women, children and the elderly. Yugoslav Navy vessels stopped the boat, which had set sail for Korcula and Split, in the Mljet Channel yesterday afternoon, and removed all men between the ages of 18 and 60 from the boat and forced the boat to return. The ferry left Dubrovnik for Split again at 0500 this morning, carrying women, children, the elderly and sick.

Throughout the night and morning there has been an increase in Yugoslav Naval activity, especially near the naval ports of Lastovo and Vis. This morning the ferry Balkanija was stopped near the island of Korcula.

Army Denies Ordering Ilok Residents To Move

LD1610210991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1847 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 16 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) announced today that it had "never demanded from any one that the townspeople of Ilok or any other locality in this or other areas, should move out."

Ilok is a locality in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia situated very close to the province of Vojvodina which is part of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia.

In this way the JNA said, in its announcement issued by the command of the First Military District, that it was denying the "misinformation by the Croatian public media and the propaganda fabrications by the Ustashi anti-Army propaganda" concerning its involvement in the announced "alleged moving out of several thousand inhabitants of Ilok."

The announcement assessed that this was "still another confirmation of the manipulation with citizens of Croatian nationality in the threatened areas, for which (manipulations) there is a completely groundless and extremely tendentious desire to blame the JNA."

The announcement stressed that "there cannot be any connection between the JNA representatives" and a convoy, announced for tomorrow, of several thousand inhabitants allegedly moving out of Ilok, "because it (the convoy) is being organized by the Croatian authority's organs and representatives in Ilok."

The announcement recalled that the JNA representatives, through mediation by the E.C. monitors, had accepted a proposal by the Ilok representatives for people in this locality to hand in arms, for the "ustashi" to leave the region, and for the removal of mines planted in and around Ilok.

In Ilok, the announcement said, "around 400 armed ustashi are stationed at this time." "Ustashi" is the term used by the JNA to designate the most extreme members of the Croation armed formations.

As the announcement said, "in Ilok, where they placed blocks and planted mines on a large scale, the ustashi are perpetrating terrorism over the Serbian (population) and over what they assert to be the disobedient Croatian population."

Belgrade Radio Cites Disarray in Croatian Guard

AU1610163391 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Report by Ratko Stevic]

[Text] Osijek Mayor Zlatko Kramaric today publicly admitted that there is total disarray in the ranks of the authorities of the Croatian Democratic Community and the Croatian National Guard, that no one knows who is

commanding whom, and that some individuals have taken war operations into their own hands. Weapons are also being widely stolen. There are more and more self-appointed bosses dressed in Guard's uniforms. They are using trucks to provoke incidents in the town and outside of it. These incidents are followed by fierce fire in the town and the subsequent destruction of the town. This is happening day and night. This happened today too, and Osijek was showered with grenades from Baranja and Tenja.

Fierce fire was also opened toward Belisce. Members of the Guard opened heavy fire on (?Parana) and surrounding Serb villages. Three persons were killed and 16 wounded. At a news conference in Osijek, regret was again expressed that Baranja has fallen too easily. It was stressed that the Guard's combat tactics should be changed, that its members should no longer be hiding in fox holes, that they must come of the town, and that they must stop getting drunk in local bars. Mayor Kramaric therefore ordered a ban on alcoholic drinks until further notice. The mayor of Osijek also said that the Guard's war tactics have been poor, that they were only defensive. He thought that the Guard should launch an offensive. He said that the erection of tank obstacles and the presence of weapons in the city center have caused a war psychosis in the town, that there were no successes, and that someone should be held responsible for that.

Members of the Guard and the [Croatian] Ministry of Internal Affairs deployed in Osijek are panic-stricken. They have been filling improvised prisons in the sports hall in Zrinjevac and schools with Serbs to exchange them for captured Croats. They strongly fear that Vukovar will soon fall.

Zagreb Radio: Vukovar Ablaze in 'Heaviest' Attacks

LD1610173591 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Excerpts] Vukovar and Borovo Naselje are experiencing perhaps the heaviest attacks since the beginning of hostilities along the eastern Croatian borders. Josip Oesterreicher reports from Vukovar.

[Oesterreicher] [passage omitted] At 1000 the occupying army units joined the fighting with the result that the entire area round Vukovar and Borovo Naselje is ablaze. To begin with, long-range fire was stepped up: heavy howitzers and multiple rocket launchers were brought into action. Together with artillery, tanks, and mortars, they are destroying everything that has been left of and in Vukovar. The aggressor infantry's attacks, supported by tanks, are very heavy indeed along the whole front line. Borovo Naselje is being attacked from the direction of (Orlovaca) and Lipovaca. [passage omitted]

With superhuman efforts the Croatian men are holding the line, destroying enemy equipment and men. We understand that so far three tanks and an armored transporter have been damaged, and between 80 and 100 infantrymen neutralized.

Zagreb Radio Cites Two-Month Casualty Figures

LD1610162191 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] According to a statement issued by the municipal inspectorate of the medical services of the Croatian Republic, 1,052 people have been killed during the past two months in the military conflicts on the Croatian side, and 6,180 have been wounded. The civilian casualties are 2,243 wounded and 480 killed. However, today's reports from the battlefields in Croatia indicate that these are not the final figures.

Croatian Forces Shoot Down Airplane Near Osijek

LD1710131191 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1130 GMT 17 Oct 91

[Text] Croatian air defense forces today shot down a military aircraft over Osijek. The aircraft came down near Stara Tenja; there are no reports about the fate of the pilot. The aircraft was shot down during the second air alert in Osijek today.

Serbia

Economic Measures Taken Against Slovenia

AU1610174791 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Report by Marinela Raznjatovic]

[Text] The Government of the Republic of Serbia has adopted several measures to offset the negative effects of the latest decisions by the Republic of Slovenia to introduce the tolar monetary unit. It was said at the news conference in the Serbian Government that, specifically, Slovene products will be treated as imports. Several (?measures) were adopted on the temporary organization of foreign currency exchange operations and the purchase of foreign currency. Marinela Raznjatovic has a report:

[Begin Raznjatovic recording] The moves by the Slovene Government have had economic effects on the government of Serbia, too. Thus, changes and addenda have been added to measures that can be implemented to prevent disturbances in the area of trade, the payments system, and customs duties.

Specifically, the government of Serbia immediately set a special turnover tax on goods and services. This involves a reciprocal measure against a measure by the Republic of Slovenia. That is to say, representatives of Slovenia treat goods from all other parts of Yugoslavia as imports and impose either customs duties or an extra tax on them ranging from 10 to 34 percent.

A provision was also adopted on the temporary organization of exchange operations regarding the purchase of foreign currency. This should be the way to eliminate shifts that have arisen on the black foreign currency

market, that is to say, outside the banking system. Otherwise, banks and the National Bank of Serbia will soon set the real rate of exchange.

The government of Serbia has outlawed the federal provision on the reopening of duty free shops and new taxes for the federal budget. As stated at the news conference, the Federal Executive Council adopted this provision without authorization, to supplement the federal coffers.

The government of the Republic of Serbia supported the convention on the protection of journalists in the war zone. [end recording]

Government To Control Foreign Exchange

LD1610211891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1850 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 16 (TANJUG)—The Serbian government today passed a decree according to which all foreign currency bought up in this Yugoslav republic will be sent to the foreign exchange reserves of the republican national bank.

According [to] Serbian Deputy Prime Minister Nikola Stanic's statement for the press, the aim of the decree is to eliminate disruptions on the foreign exchange market which occurred after the monetary secession of the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia.

Slovenia, which on June 25 unilaterally seceded from Yugoslavia, on October 8 introduced its own currency, the tolar.

Asked by journalists how the foreign exchange savings of Yugoslav citizens will be protected, Stanic recalled that the National Bank of Yugoslavia was responsible for them which, however, "is irregularly servicing commercial banks" in the republics, as he said.

If the federation ceases to be the guarantor of foreign exchange savings, then Serbia will take over this responsibility, Stanic said.

200 Serbian Reservists Return From 'Battlefields'

LD1710102291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1333 GMT 15 Oct 91

[Text] Topola, 15 Oct (TANJUG)—Some 200 reservists, members of war unit 5540, returned from the battlefields to the town of Topola last night. They started arriving fully armed in Topola yesterday evening. They announced their arrival by firing shots in the air. The majority went back to their homes while some gathered in the town center. A group of reservists broke into to the municipal assembly.

In talks with them, we have learned that they had various reasons to leave the battlefields. Most of them said that Serbia is not at war, others want Serbian officers to be in the command, while other want a better organization, and the like.

This morning the armed reservists, dressed in civilian clothes, have gathered in front of the local Secretariat for National Defense. At around 1000 representatives from the Kragujevac Military Command started to collect arms and issue certificates stating how long individuals spent in war units and that they left units on their own initiative.

Assembly Proposes Postponement of Local Elections

LD1610223291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1826 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 16 (TANJUG)—In view of the situation in the county, the assembly of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia today asked the republican government to prepare for tomorrow a proposal on changing the serbian constitutional law so that local elections in the republic could be postponed for an unspecified period.

The parliament earlier decided that local elections in Serbia be held on November 10.

Opposition parties in Serbia were the first to request the postponement of the elections, and the leadership of the ruling Socialist Party of Serbia did so today.

Serbian parliament president Aleksandar Bakocevic told a news conference that the postponement was proposed because of the extraordinary situation in Yugoslavia and because around 130,000 voters, currently engaged in the Yugoslav People's Army reserve forces, would be uable to vote.

Bakocevic said representatives of the parliamentary groups at a meeting today concluded that the local elections should be postponed.

A decision to postpone the election would mean the postponement of the voting on Serbia's state symbols—coat of arms, flag and anthem.

The voting on the state symbols will be held at the same time as local elections since the previously proposed referendum on state symbols would be rather expensive, as Bakocevic explained.

Albanian Newspaper Editors Jailed in Pristina

LD1110090591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1311 GMT 10 Oct 91

[Text] Prisina, 10 Oct (TANJUG)—The Pristina municipal court for minor offences today sentenced Jomuz Fetahu, director of RILINDJA magazines, to 60 days imprisonment for breaking the law on public peace and order. Fetahu was sent to jail immediately after the ruling.

The ruling says that Fetahu was responsible for publishing an article entitled "School year postponed till 16 October" in 'SKENDIJA' magazine on 7 October. The Education Ministry of the Republic of Kosovo made the decision to postpone the school year.

According to 'BUJKU', its editor, Gani Bajrami, was detained yesterday. Dzemajlj Redzepi, chief and responsible editor of BUJKU, was sentenced to 60 days of imprisonment 10 days ago for publishing "Decisions of the Assembly of the Republic of Kosovo".

A protest meeting was held in the RILINDJA premises today, at which journalists and the independent union condemned the "terror of the Serbian authorities over the freedom of thought and written word of Albanian journalists".

Police 'Blockade' Kosovo Commune of Malisevo

AU1610142891 Zagreb Radio Croatia in Albanian 2215 GMT 15 Oct 91

[Text] The commune of Malisheve [Malisevo] was totally blockaded by the Serbian police today. Drivers and their cars were inspected every few yards, and stores were not only searched but plundered by the police. Several armored personnel carriers belonging to the police were stationed in front of the Communal Assembly, which further distressed local inhabitants. The people of Malisheve say that all this is being done in order to totally abolish this commune, which has a mainly Albanian population.

Ethnic Albanian Students Hold Peaceful Protests

LD1610162991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1331 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] Pristina, October 16 (TANJUG)—About a hundred ethnic Albanian students protested today outside the faculty of philology in Pristina, capital of Serbia's Kosovo Province. A few dozen ethnic Albanian students also protested outside other faculties in Kosovo, where classes officially began today. After an hour and a warning from the police, they broke up peacefully.

Ethnic Albanian students refuse to start classes in the Albanian language in protest against the fact that a number of ethnic Albanian teachers have been dismissed. It was explained at the university administration building that the professors had been dismissed because they had failed to meet their work obligations.

Ethnic Albanian elementary and secondary school students today also rallied outside their schools, refusing to attend classes taught in the Albanian language because they follow Serbian programmes.

After an hour, the students went home. This is the third protest rallying by ethnic Albanian students since the school year began.

The Albanian Association of Teachers of Kosovo again announced that classes in elementary and secondary schools would begin soon, but according to illegal Albanian programmes.

Police Disperse Students

LD1610212291 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] The Serbian police today blocked a number of schools and colleges in Kosovo and thus thwarted the beginning of a new school year for 450,000 ethnic Albanian pupils, students, and teachers. It was said at a news conference organized today by a coordination committee for education in Kosovo that Serbia clearly is definitely closing down all secondary schools and faculties for ethnic Albanians in Kosovo. The police today used force to disperse pupils and students who came to their schools and colleges to attend lectures. In Pristina, Pec, and other places [words indistinct] was organized for the Serbs and Montenegrins.

Bosnia-Hercegovina

SAR Hercegovina Rejects Bosnian Resolution

AU1610144091 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 15 Oct 91

[Text] The Assembly of the Serbian Autonomous Region [SAR] of Hercegovina, as the representative of all the citizens of this region, does not recognize the memorandum and resolution [adopted by the Assembly of Bosnia-Hercegovina on 15 October]. This was noted in the statement addressed to the residents of this region by the Assembly of the so-called SAR of Hercegovina.

If the legal-constitutional position of Bosnia-Hercegovina within the federal state of Yugoslavia should change, the Assembly of the SAR of Hercegovina will decide to form a separate republic by itself or jointly with other autonomous regions as a federal unit within the federal state of Yugoslavia.

SAR Romanija Rejects Bosnian Platform

AU1610163791 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 15 Oct 91

[Text] In the statement addressed to all news media by the Assembly of the so-called Serbian Autonomous Region (SAR) of Romanija it is noted that the Assembly of the SAR of Romanija does not accept the platform or the memorandum on the position of Bosnia-Hercegovina. The Assembly of SAR of Romanija at its very next session will move to disassociate the SAR of Romanija from Bosnia- Hercegovina, the statement says.

Bosnian Serbs Favor Yugoslavia, Reject Bosnian Laws

AU1610144191 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 15 Oct 91

[Text] The regional committee of the Serbian Democratic Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina for Bosanska Krajina reported that the Serbian people of Bosanska Krajina are going to remain in Yugoslavia. As of today,

they stated, we have no responsibilities toward the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, which no longer exists. As of now the Serbian people will observe only the federal laws and the Constitution of Yugoslavia, as well as the founding document of the Autonomous Region of Bosanska Krajina.

The Serbian Democratic Party of Banja Luka warns the Muslim and Croatian peoples that with their sovereignty act they have taken upon themselves the great burden of responsibility for possible armed conflicts on the territory of the former Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Serbian Autonomous Region to Remain in SFRY

LD1610225491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1958 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] Bijeljina, October 16 (TANJUG)—The authorities of the so-called region of Northeast Bosnia, one of the four Serbian autonomous regions in the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, today said that the region would remain in Yugoslavia and that it from now on only recognized the federal constitution and laws.

The same decision was yesterday adopted by the so-called autonomous regions of Bosanska Krajina, Hercegovina and Romanija.

These decisions came as a result of dissatisfaction with the decision of the parliament of Bosnia-Hercegovina on the republic's sovereignty which was adopted by the ruling coalition of national parties which rally Moslems (?and) Croats. The Serbian deputies refused to vote, pointing out that Serbs wanted to live in one state and were against the break-up of Yugoslavia.

On the split in the Bosnia-Hercegovina parliament, the World Serb Association issued a declaration which said that the republican parliament had taken a 'violent step against the rights and interests of the Serbian people' and that this would inevitably lead to an aggravation of inter-ethnic relations in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The League of Communists Movement for Yugoslavia assessed the decisions of the Bosnia-Hercegovina parliament as an 'unconstitutional and undemocratic act' and called for a plebiscite at which the people would decide about the republic's future.

The Socialist Democratic Party-Party of Democratic Changes For Bosnia-Hercegovina said that the national parties were incapable of reaching an agreement and accused them of betraying the efforts of opposition parties by rejecting the proposed middle-of-the-road option.

Serbian Party Claims 'State Coup'

LD1610201191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1821 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] Sarajevo, Oct 16 (TANJUG)—The Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) for Bosnia-Hercegovina today accused Moslem, Croatian and opposition representatives in the republican parliament of having attempted a state coup.

"By taking anti-constitutional decisions on Bosnia-Hercegovina's sovereignty through the 'method of political terror,' they have seriously jeopardized the constitutional and legal order of Bosnia-Hercegovina, based on sovereignty and equlity of the republic's three constituent peoples, and opened a way for lawlessness and chaos," the SDS has said in a proclamation to the Serbian people and citizens of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Yugoslavia.

Two documents on Bosnia-Hercegovina's sovereignty, adopted in the republican parliament yesterday, were opposed by the Serbian representatives. The documents contradict the republican constitution, under which the status of the three peoples should be decided by consensus.

The SDS, the second strongest party in the parliament, demands that Bosnia-Hercegovina "unconditionally and fully respect the constitutional and legal order" of Yugoslavia and Bosnia-Hercegovina and that "those attempting to violate it be punished."

In case the constitutional and legal order is not maintained in Bosnia-Hercegovina, the Serbian people, in the predominantly Serbian-populated territories, will maintain it in conformity with the federal constitution and law, as set out in the proclamation.

It said the Serbian people from Bosnia-Hercegovina would remain in Yugoslavia, unless differently decided in a plebiscite, and would recognize to other constituent peoples the right to vote on whether they want to leave or remain in Yugoslavia.

Muslim, Serb Party Leaders Call For Referendum

LD1610195891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1728 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, October 16 (TANJUG)—The leaders of the national parties of the Muslims and Serbs living in the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Alija Izetbegovic and Radovan Karadzic respectively, today said that the fate of their republic and its position in Yugoslavia could be decided only through a plebiscite or a referendum.

In the separate statements made to the Belgrade radio station Politika, the leaders of the two strongest parties in the Bosnia-Hercegovina parliament disagreed, however, on who should take part in the decision-making through a plebiscite or a referendum.

Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Muslim Democratic Action Party (SDA) and president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, said that "Bosnia-Hercegovina could find itself outside Yugoslavia on the basis of a decision of all its citizens."

Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS), described as acceptable only a plebiscite in which "the peoples of Bosnia-Hercegovina would decide of their own free will whether to remain in Yugoslavia."

Under the republican constitution, Bosnia-Hercegovina is a republic of three equal peoples—Muslims, Serbs and Croats—and questions relating to the status of the three peoples are decided on the basis of the principle of consensus.

The parliamentary coalition of Muslims and Croats adopted at dawn yesterday two documents on the sovereignty of Bosnia-Hercegovina. The deputies of Serbian nationality [words indistinct]. The Serbs living in Bosnia-Hercegovina have qualified the two documents as an unconstitutional and undemocratic act of secession (?based) on Slovenia's and Croatia's model." [quotation marks as received]

Izetbegovic rejected the charges and said that the two documents only reaffirmed the [words indistinct] sovereignty of Bosnia-Hercegovina. He said that the decisions taken by the republican parliament yesterday were legal and valid becausge they were passed with a majority on the basis of amendment 60 to the republican constitution.

Karadzic, for his part, said that, "nowhere in Bosnia-Hercegovina, will Serbs accept the decisions on sovereignty," which he said was passed on the [words indistinct]adopted in the former one-party, Communist parliament.

Despite the rift in the republican parliament, Izetbegovic said he felt "there will be no war in Bosnia-Hercegovina." Izetbegovic said that chances still existed for Yugoslavia to survive, but "fundamentally transformed."

Izetbegovic repeated that Bosnia-Hercegovina was not interested in remaining in Yugoslavia without Slovenia and Croatia, nor in joining some [word indistinct] community with Slovenia and Croatia, the two Yugoslav republics which have decided to break away.

Karadzic, for his part, said that "Neither the Croatian people in Croatia, nor the Slovenes in Slovenia can decide for Serbs, Muslims and Croats to withdraw from Yugoslavia." Commenting [words indistinct] statement that it will inform The Hague peace conference on Yugoslavia that the decision on the sovereignty of Bosnia-Hercegovina is unconstitutional, Izetbegovic said, "that will create no problem" since the parliament's decisions are the ones which count and not "the opinion of one party."

Croat Party Approves of Sovereignty Memorandum

AU1510211091 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 15 Oct 91

[Text] The final stage of the denouement of the crisis in Yugoslavia and Bosnia-Hercegovina is in the offing, and the Croatian Democratic Community [CDC] of Bosnia-Hercegovina thinks this solution should be found in a peaceful way. This was said at the party's news conference held today.

The decision on the status of Bosnia-Hercegovina and its relations with other members of the Yugoslav community can only be made by the people of this republic through a referendum. At this moment, the CDC expects cooperation with the Serbian Democratic Party on the issue of the status of Croats in Krajina and will advocate peace and normal life of the minority Serb population in communes with a Croatian majority population.

The CDC considers the Memorandum on the Sovereignty of Bosnia-Hercegovina to be the most important decision made during the 11-month session of the Republican Assembly. According to this act, as of today, Bosnia-Hercegovina is an equal partner to other republics in the talks about its own future and the future of Yugoslavia.

The party's leaders have also drawn attention to the fact that the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina is being used for attacks against another republic, that such activities carried out on the territory of the Trebinje commune should stop, and that the Banja Luka Corps and Tuzla Corps should no longer serve as bases for organizing attacks against the Republic of Croatia.

Susak Demands Release of Croatia's Army Conscripts

LD1610160891 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] Croatian Defense Minister Gojko Susak sent a telegram today to General Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense, demanding the release of all citizens from the Republic of Croatia who are fulfilling their national service in the Yugoslav Army. Failing this, we will conclude that you are holding them prisoners, Susak warned Kadijevic.

Izetbegovic Discusses Memorandum at News Conference

AU1610214291 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Party of Democratic Action [PDA] and president of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina, said at his party's news conference today that the adoption of the memorandum at the republican assembly just meant an assertion that Bosnia-Hercegovina is a sovereign state. We have behaved as a sovereign state before as well, he said. The first test of this behavior will be in The Hague and we are going to behave as a sovereign state there as well, Izetbegovic added.

Is the Serbian Democratic Party's threat that it will send a document to The Hague which annuls the memorandum going to present obstacles to your participation

in the agreements, reporters asked. Izetbegovic replied that this will present no obstacle. There is a clear decision by the Assembly of Bosnia-Hercegovina which was adopted with a clear majority, and that is not in dispute. For democratic Europe, this is a completely legal and legitimate act.

Giving reporters further explanations about the situation after the memorandum was adopted in the parliament, the PDA president said that Karadzic and the Serbian Democratic Party still owe the people of Bosnia-Hercegovina an explanation of what they deem unacceptable about the memorandum. They failed to answer that question, Izetbegovic added, and instead rejected the paper as a whole. I tried to find an answer to this question myself. My answer is that they did not dispute points one and two, but point three, which clearly says that Bosnia-Hercegovina does not want to remain in a truncated Yugoslavia. I think that in this way we discovered some of their plans to make Bosnia-Hercegovina—secretively, in an unconstitutional way, tacitly, or along with the flow of events—find itself in a truncated Yugoslavia together with Serbia and Montenegro.

Reporters asked Izetbegovic whether he could feel in the talks with Radovan Karadzic that Karadzic is considering a scenario which allows the possibility of one nation disappearing because of the need to solve the existing crisis. Izetbegovic said the following: As far as I can remember, Mr. Karadzic has said that this is not our decision. This would be an inevitable flow of events and would come about by itself. There is no genocide in itself, this can only be a conscious decision, Izetbegovic pointed out, adding that the Muslim people have both the will and means to defend themselves from such developments of things, but of course, what is involved is always only defense.

Macedonia

Gligorov Receives Message From Mitterrand

AU1710111491 Skopje Radio Macedonia Network in Macedonian 2100 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] Kiro Gligorov, president of the Republic of Macedonia, received the director for Europe of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Jacques Bleu, [title and name as heard] who handed President Gligorov a written message from President Francois Mitterrand. The message, which has also been sent to the presidents of other Yugoslav republics, reiterates the French stand on how the Yugoslav crisis should be resolved. President Gligorov expressed satisfaction with the similarity of the stands expressed in the message and the views which the Republic of Macedonia has continuously been advocating.

Foreign Minister Notes Similar Views With EC

AU1710103491 Skopje Radio Macedonia Network in Macedonian 2100 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] At today's news conference, Denko Malevski, Republic of Macedonia minister for relations with other countries, on his return from The Hague, from the last round of negotiations between Yugoslavs diplomats and Lord Carrington, stated that the aims of the conference correspond to the aims and endeavors of the Republic of Macedonia; the recognition of the sovereignty of the republics and the retention of some kind of cooperation, above all economic cooperation.

Macedonian Delegation Assesses Hague Talks

AU1610124291 Skopje Radio Macedonia Network in Macedonian 2100 GMT 15 Oct 91

[Text] The Macedonian delegation at the fifth plenary session of the conference on Yugoslavia in The Hague returned to Skopje tonight. In a statement for the media, the head of the delegation, Denko Malevski, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Macedonia, assessed the course of the conference up to now and said:

The problem at the conference is the fact that some delegations will have to learn how to negotiate and not only to repeat the notes that they bring with them from home. Concerning Macedonia, it does not have this kind of problem with Europe. We can communicate clearly with Europe. It is clear what we want to say. The principles that we advocate are clear. However, the fact is that some delegations happen to come without a serious mandate for negotiations. This is the reason Lord Carrington decided to cancel all these meetings and to call a meeting of the presidents for 18 October.

I hope that on 18 October we will reach an agreement on some basic work, something that would be the starting basis for the negotiators who should move forward from there and not backward, Dr. Malevski stressed, commenting on his expectations from the summit on 18 October, confirming that the EC has worked out a document that will be submitted to the presidents of the Yugoslav republics for signing. However, he did not say what this document was and what it contained.

Assembly Rejects 'Illegal' Presidency Decisions

LD1610155291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1211 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Oct (TANJUG)—"The Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia rejects the so-called decisions made by four SFRY Presidency members as illegal, null, and void and states that they have no legal effect whatsoever in the Republic of Macedonia."

This decision, among others, is stated in the conclusions approved by this republic's assembly and forwarded to the federal parliament today. The report goes on to say that "the 3 October coup in Belgrade is totally

denounced, as is any kind of coercion used in the solution of the Yugoslav crisis."

The Assembly's conclusions also note: "The Republic of Macedonia will categorically defend its sovereignty and territorial integrity and the interests of its citizens from the dangers related to the extension of the war from Croatia into other areas of the country and the illegal activities of the four SFRY Presidency members and the top army command."

In addition to the SFRY Assembly, the conclusions have been sent to the state Presidency, republican assemblies, the Macedonian Government, the EC, the CSCE, the United Nations, and The Hague conference on Yugoslavia.

Greece Considers Recognition of Independent Macedonia

LD1710052291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0841 GMT 16 Oct 91

[By Slobodan Markovic]

[Text] Athens, Oct 16 (TANJUG)—Speculation is rife in Athens that Greece might, under certain conditions and under pressure from continued fighting in the neighbouring country and from the European powers, recognize the southernmost Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia as an independent state and perhaps put a distance between itself and the biggest Yugoslav Republic of Serbia.

Although Athens has not officially changed its position of favouring the preservation of Yugoslavia's unity, there are rumours that Foreign Minister Andonios Samaras has sent word to U.S. Secretary of State James Baker that Greece might recognize an independent state of Macedonia, a course of action which it had repudiated in the sharpest terms only last month.

Washington is believed in Athens to be very much interested in this, having an eye on expanding its influence in Macedonia and Albania.

The conditions required by Athens before it could take such a step are that the Macedonian Assembly in Skopje should officially state that the existing Macedonian borders are unchangeable and that the Republic has no other claims on Greece, say sources in the Athens government. Skopje is also expected to halts its "propaganda" about the existence of a Macedonian minority in Greece.

An earlier demand had been for Macedonia to abandon its name, which is seen as "historically Greek," but the demand, which could hardly be met, has lately been much less frequently voiced.

Opposition circles intimate that the opposition is considering the possibility of establishing "pulse-feeling contacts" at a high level with moderates in Skopje, who are being said in Athens to be sending the Greek Government frequent signals for a" 'normalization of relations."

Official and diplomatic circles believe that a rejection would play Macedonia into the hands of Greece's arch-rival—Turkey.

The change in attitude would undoubtedly favourably reflect on Greece's relationship with Bulgaria, which is making signs that it might recognize the results of the September referendum in Macedonia. Differences on this point have been a reason for a coolness in relations between Athens and Sofia, which the friendship treaty signed recently between the two countries has not managed fully to obliterate.

Greece is considering also withdrawing the support given to the Serbian leadership last spring. Greece's chief partner in Yugoslavia has since then been frowned upon, especially by Germany and Italy, both powerful members of the European Community and countries whose goodwill is very important to Greece.

Unofficially, there are doubts in Athens that Serbian socialists could cling to power much longer, for which reason, government and diplomatic sources say, Greece is hastily exploring alternative directions of possible cooperation.

Greece's ruling conservative New Democracy has close ties with the Serbian Democratic Party, the second strongest opposition party in the Serbian parliament.

Slovenia has not been kept away from the bubbling cauldron, with its Foreign Minister Dimitrij Rupel visiting Athens twice this year where he says he received assurances from Minister Samaras that Greece would recognize Slovenia. However, on this point, too, Greece will adhere faithfully to the E.C. stand.

Aware that it can have little influence on developments in its northern neighbour, Greece is endeavouring with its moves to preclude that the risk of an ultimate disintegration of Yugoslavia should bring instability to its own borders.